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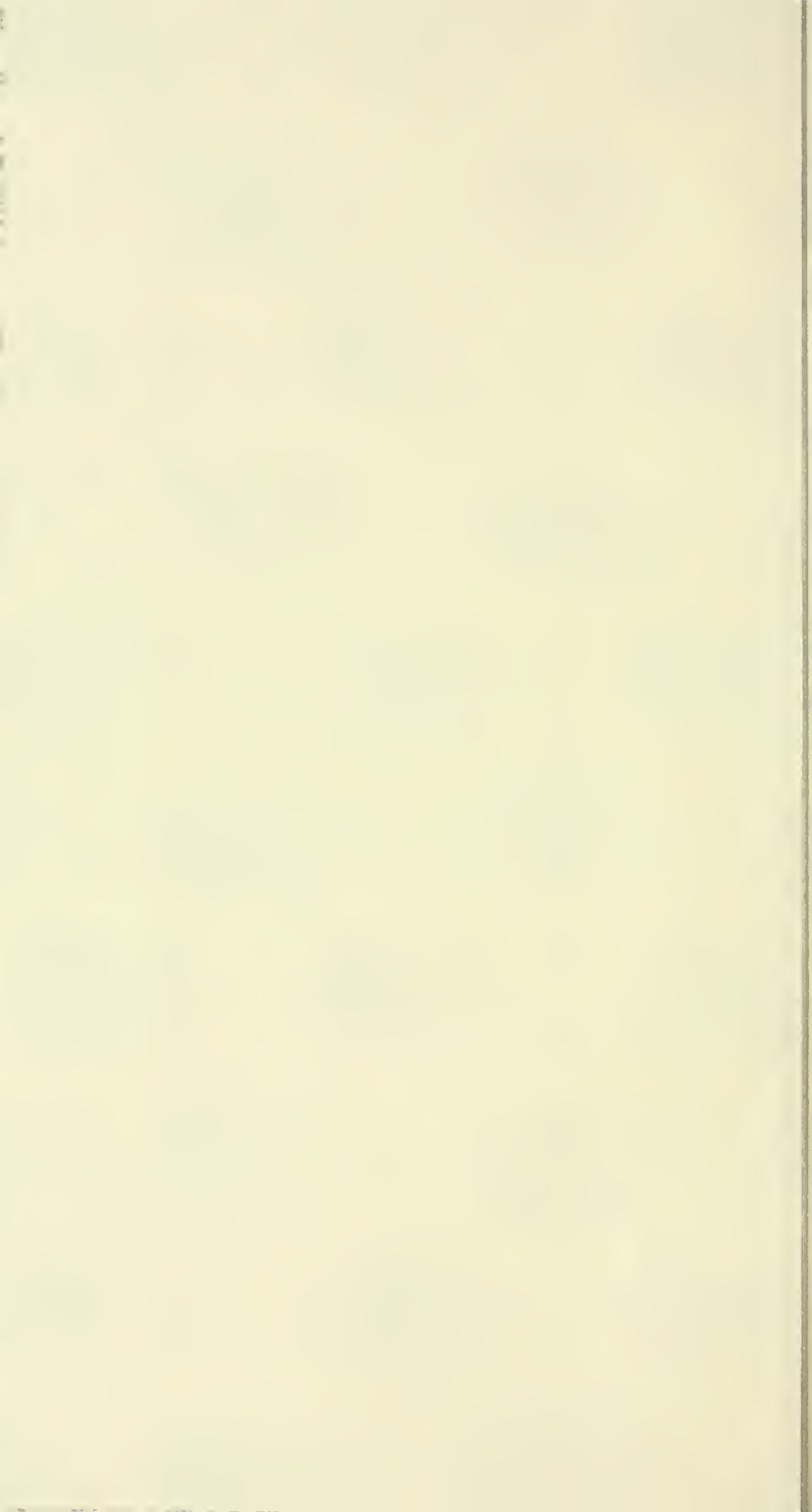
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P R I D E
OF BRITANNIA HUMBLLED;
OR, THE
QUEEN OF THE OCEAN UNQUEEN'D,
"BY THE AMERICAN COCK BOATS,"

Or, "The *Fir* built Things, with bits of *Striped Bunting* at their Mast Heads."—(As the Right Hon. Mr. Canning, in the British parliament, called our American Frigates.)

Illustrated and Demonstrated
BY FOUR LETTERS ADDRESSED TO LORD LIVERPOOL,
ON THE LATE AMERICAN WAR.

BY WM. COBBETT, ESQ.

Including a number of his other most Important Letters, and arguments, in Defence of
THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

To which is added,

A GLIMPSE

OF THE AMERICAN VICTORIES,

On **LAND**, on the **LAKES**, and on the **OCEAN**.

WITH A PERSUASIVE TO POLITICAL MODERATION.

Most respectfully addressed to the Persons composing the two great Parties in the United States in general, and to the politicians of **CONNECTICUT** and **MASSACHUSETTS**, in *Particular*.

A NEW EDITION.



PHILADELPHIA:

Published by William Reynolds,—Daniel Griffin, New York;—J. Campbell, Baltimore,—
and P. Boyle, New Jersey.

1815.

A. Griggs & K. Dickinson,—Printers, Whitehall.

ple" know nothing of. They have opinions furnished them by others as regularly as soldiers or sailors are served with rations. The lower class are, from their poverty, wholly without the pale of information, true or false, and appear to know and care as little about the acts of the government, and the state of public affairs, as the earth, or any other substance, on which they expend their time and their physical force. The middle class are so incessantly employed in pursuit of the means of keeping themselves from the horrors of pauperism, that they have no time for discussion or inquiry. Many persons, in this class of life, have asked me, whether the Americans *could speak English*. Few men in the higher ranks of life know any thing worth speaking of, with regard to the American republic, a nation nearly equal in population to Great Britain, and inhabited, as we now feel, by men full as enterprising and as brave as our own soldiers and sailors. Even the writers who have fanned the flame of this bloody war, know nothing at all about the real state of America; for, though they have no desire to promulgate truth; though it is their *trade* to deceive and cheat the people, they show, by their statements, that they are ignorant of facts, which, if they knew them, would make them able to deceive with less exposure to detection. This being the case, it is no wonder that the whole nation is in a state of error, as to this matter of primary importance. On the day when the news reached the country, relative to the capture of the city of Washington, I happened to call, on my way homewards from Sussex, at the house of a gentleman, who was as likely to be as well informed as any other gentleman in the country, as to this or any other political matter. The following was the dialogue, wherein I shall exhibit

the gentleman and his good wife under the name of Friend.

Mrs. *Friend*. Well, Mr. Cobbett, we shall soon get rid of the income tax, [for so it is called in the country] *now*.

Mr. *Cobbett*. Shall we, Madam? I am very glad to hear it. It will enable me to get a better horse for my gig.—[*She had just been laughing at my scurvy equipage.*]—But why *now*, Madam? What has happened to excite such a cheering hope?

Mrs. *Friend*. Why, have you not heard the *news*?

Mr. *Cobbett*. No.

Mr. *Friend*. We have taken the *capital* of America.

Mrs. *Friend*. And the cowardly dogs, to the amount of 9,000 men, ran away before 1,500 of our soldiers.

Mr. *Friend*. President and all ran away!—Nobody knows where they went to, and the people were ready to submit to us all over the country.

Mrs. *Friend*. Cowardly dogs! Not stand to fight a moment for their capital. They are a pretty nation to go to war with England!

Mr. *Friend*. They ran away like a great flock of South Down sheep before a pack of hounds.

Mrs. *Friend*. The cowardly creatures will never dare show their faces again. What can you say for these Americans *now*?

Mr. *Cobbett*. Why, I say, that you appear to know no more about them than about the people said to be in the moon. Let me look at the paper. [*It laid before her on the table.*]

Mrs. *Friend*. No; we must tell it you. It is too long for you to sit and read to yourself.

Mr. *Cobbett*. Well; now mind, I tell you, that,

instead of putting *an end* to the war, this event will tend to prolong it: and, mind, I tell you, that unless *we give up* what we contend for, that war will be of many years duration, and will be as expensive and more bloody than the war in Europe has been.

Mr. *Friend*. We give up to such cowards as the Americans!

Mr. *Cobbett*. I do not mean to give up either *territory* or *honour*. I mean give up the point in dispute; or, rather, our *present apparent object*. The Americans, like other people, cannot meet disciplined armies, until they have time to organize and discipline themselves. But, the Americans are not *cowards*, Madam. Their seamen have proved that; and, what I fear is, that a continuance of the war will make the proof clearer and clearer every day, by land as well as by sea; and, I am *now* more than *ever* afraid of a long continuation of the war; because, if such people as *you* seriously think that we are able to conquer America, I can have no reason to hope that any part of the nation remains undeceived.

Mr. *Friend*. But, do you not think that the *states will divide*?

Mr. *Cobbett*. Certainly not.

Mr. *Friend*. No!

Mr. *Cobbett*. No. And I should be glad to know what are your *reasons* for believing that they will divide. If you will give me any reasons for your belief, I will give you mine for a contrary belief. Do *you* think, madam, that the people of America are weary of living for thirty years without an income tax?

Mr. *Friend*. I have no reasons of my own about the matter. We see, in all our *papers*, that the Americans are a very divided people. They say that they cannot long hold together.

Mr. *Cobbett*. And do you really believe what these corrupted vagabonds put into their columns? You believe, then, of course, that "the American navy would be swept from the face of the ocean in a month;" for so they told you.—Yet, how different has been the events! No, no: the Americans are not *cowards*, madam.

Mrs. *Friend*. Have you had such heaps of lemons this year as you used to have?

Such was, as nearly as I can recollect, the dialogue on this occasion; and, as I am sure, that the war is continued in the hope, on the part of the *nation*, at least, of deriving success from *a breaking up of the union* in America, which I am thoroughly persuaded we shall not effect, or see take place, I will endeavour to shew, that this, my persuasion, rests on good grounds; and, if I succeed in this endeavour, I shall not yet abandon the hope, to which my heart clings, of seeing peace speedily restored between the two countries, upon terms not injurious to the interest or character of either.

In turning back, now, to the *reported* speech of your lordship I perceive, and I perceive it with regret, that you are, by the reporter, made to found your opinion of the Americans' disaffection to their government, and of their attachment to our king, in part, upon their having treated our officers, prisoners of war, with great liberality and kindness. I noticed this in my last number. I challenged any one to shew the instance, in which they had ever behaved cruelly to prisoners of war. I cited the memorable case of Mr. (now Sir Charles) *Asgyll*, and I appealed to their uniform conduct, during the present war, including the instances of commodores *Bainbridge* and *Perry*. But as the conduct of the former, in this respect, has been most basely slandered.

in some of our public prints, I will be somewhat more particular as to both instances, adding that of capt. *Lawrence*.

Commodore Bainbridge captured the *Java*, off St. Salvadore, on the 29th of December, 1812.—His frigate, the *Constitution*, carried 44 guns, and ours 49 guns, according to the American accounts. Ours, he says, had upwards of 400 men on board. The republicans killed 60 and wounded 170 of our officers and men, and had themselves 9 killed and 25 wounded. After the battle at their pressing request, commodore Bainbridge *paroled them all*. The *Java* had on board lieutenant general Hislop and his staff, together with several supernumerary officers and men. The following letter of general Hislop to commodore Bainbridge will best speak for the latter :

“ *Dear Sir*—I am justly penetrated with the fullest sense of your very handsome and kind treatment, ever since the fate of war placed me in your power, and I beg once more to renew to you my sincerest acknowledgments for the same. Your acquiescence with my request in granting me my parole, with the officers of my staff, added to the obligation I had previously experienced, claims from me this additional tribute of my thanks. May I now finally flatter myself, that in the further extension of your generous and humane feelings, in the alleviation of the misfortunes of war, that you will have the goodness to fulfil the only wish and request I am now most anxious to see completed, by enlarging on their parole (on the same conditions you have acceded to with respect to myself) all the officers of the *Java*, still on board your ship—a favour I never shall cease duly to appreciate by your acquiescence thereto—

“ I have the honour to subscribe myself, dear sir, your much obliged and very humble servant.”

The request was instantly complied with.—Men and all were released upon parole. In the case of com. Perry, the battle was fought on Lake Erie, on the 10th Sept. 1813. With vessels, carrying altogether 54 guns, he not only defeated, but captured the whole of our fleet, six vessels, carrying 65 guns as he stated in his official report ; which report, by the bye, fully justifies our admiralty as to Lake Erie. I take the following paragraph from his report to his government upon this occasion :

“ I also beg your instructions respecting the wounded. I am satisfied, Sir, that *whatever steps I might take, governed by humanity, would meet your approbation.* Under this impression, I have taken upon myself to promise capt. Barclay, who is very *dangerously* wounded, that he shall be landed as near Lake Ontario as possible, and I had no doubt you would allow me to parole him. He is under the impression that nothing but leaving this part of the country will save his life. There are also a number of Canadians among the prisoners, *many who have families.*”

Capt. Lawrence, in the brig Hornet, attacked and sunk, in fifteen minutes, our brig, the Peacock, killing between thirty and forty of our men, while the Hornet had only *one* man killed and *two* wounded.—Thus says the American report. Ours I have not at hand. Then comes the following letter :

New-York, 27th March, 1813.

“ Sir—We, the surviving officers of his Britannic Majesty’s late brig Peacock, beg leave to return you our grateful acknowledgments for the *kind attention and hospitality* we experienced during the time we remained on board the United States’ sloop

Hornet. So much was done to alleviate the distressing and uncomfortable situation in which we were placed, when received on board the sloop you commanded, that we cannot better express our feelings than by saying, "*We ceased to consider ourselves prisoners ;*" and every thing that friendship could dictate was adopted by you, and the officers of the Hornet, to remedy the inconvenience we would otherwise have experienced from the unavoidable *loss of the whole of our property and clothes by the sudden sinking of the Peacock*. Permit us, then, sir, impressed, as we are, with a grateful sense of your kindness, for ourselves and the other officers and ship's company, to return you and the officers of the Hornet our sincere thanks, which we shall feel obliged if you will communicate to them in our name ; and believe us to remain, with a high sense of the kind offices you have rendered us, your humble servants—F. A. Wright, 1st lieutenant ; C. Lambert, 2d lieutenant ; Edward Lott, master ; J. Whitaker, surgeon ; F. Donnithrone Unwin, purser. *James Lawrence, esq. commander U. S. sloop Hornet.*"

The American papers added, upon this occasion, the following :—" It is a fact worthy of note, and in the highest degree honourable to our brave tars, that on the day succeeding the destruction of his Britannic Majesty's brig Peacock, the crew of the Hornet made a subscription and supplied the prisoners (who had lost almost every thing) with two shirts, a blue jacket and trowsers, each."

Now, my lord, without going into more particulars, let me ask you, whether you think that this conduct towards our officers was the effect of disaffection towards their own government, of disapprobation of its conduct, of a hatred of the war, and

of “a *disposition* to put themselves *under our protection*?” And, if you answer in the negative, as you must, I suppose, why do you think, that the humane treatment of our officers elsewhere indicates such a disposition? Does your lordship see no possible danger in drawing such an inference? Do you think, that it is wholly out of all belief, that your being reported to have drawn such an inference may render the treatment of our officers, prisoners of war, less humane and kind in future?—Seeing that a disposition in an American citizen to put himself under the protection of our king is a disposition to commit *treason*, in the eye of the laws of his country, would it be so very surprising if, in future, the Americans should be very cautious how they exposed themselves to the merit of such a compliment? I must, however, do your lordship the justice to observe here, that what the proprietors of our newspapers have published as *your speech*, might never have been uttered by you.—I would fain hope, that they have, in this case, put forth, under your name, the suggestions of their own mind. I, therefore, comment on the thing as *theirs* and not as *yours*.

In order to show that there is no foundation for the hope entertained by people here, and so often expressed by our newspapers, of *dividing the republic of America*, I must go into a history of the *parties* which exist in that republic; give an account of their origin and progress, and describe their present temper and relative force.—The population are divided into two parties; the REPUBLICANS and FEDERALISTS. The latter also claim the title of *republicans*, but it is, and I think we shall find, with justice, denied to them by the former.

These two parties have, in fact, existed ever since the close of the revolutionary war, though their

animosities have never appeared to be so great, nor to threaten such serious consequences as since the commencement of the French revolution, especially since the first presidency of Mr. Jefferson, whose exaltation to the chair, was the proof of decided triumph on the part of the republicans, and plunged their opponents into a state of desperation.

The *federalists* took their name from the general government, which being *federative*, was called *federal*. Some of the people, as well as some of the members of the *convention* who formed the constitution, were for the new general government, and some were against it. Those who were against it, and who were for a government of a still more *democratical* form, were called, at first, *anti-federalists*—but, of late, they have been called *republicans*, in opposition to the federalists, who were for a government of an *aristocratical*, if not of nearly a kingly form, and who proposed, in the convention, a president and senate *for life*. There was at this time a great struggle between the parties—the opposition of the republicans spoiled the projects of the federalists; and the government was, at last, of a forlorn nature, which was wholly pleasing to neither, but did not on the other hand greatly displease either.

The federalists, however, took the whole credit to themselves of having formed the government; and, as general Washington, who had been president of the convention, and was decidedly for a federative general government, was elected the president under the new constitution, the federalists at once assumed, that they were the only persons who had any right or title to have any thing to do with that government, treating their opponents as persons *necessarily hostile to*, and, of course, unfit to be entrusted with, the carrying on of the federal government.

When the first congress met, under the new constitution, it was clear, that the federalists endeavoured to do, by degrees, that which they had not been able to accomplish, all at once, in the convention. They proposed to address the president by the title of *his serene highness*, and to introduce other forms and trappings of royalty, or, at least, of a high aristocracy. Their intention was defeated to their inexpressible mortification. The people were shocked at these attempts; and, from that moment, the opposite party seem to have gained ground in the confidence of the people, who abhorred the idea of any thing that bore a resemblance to kingly government or that seemed to make the slightest approach towards *hereditary* or *family* rule.

When the French revolution broke out; when that great nation declared itself a *republic*, and went even further than America had gone in the road of democracy, the two parties took their different sides. Heats and animosities were revived. While general Washington remained president, however, he acted with so much caution and moderation, that it was difficult for any one openly to censure him. He was blamed by both parties. One wished him to take part with France, the other with England. He did neither, and upon the whole he left no party any good reason to complain of him. But when Mr. Adams, who was a native of Massachusetts, where the federal party was in great force, became president, he certainly did, yielding to the counsels of weak and violent men, push things very nearly to an offensive and defensive alliance with us. The violent and unjust proceedings of the French government furnished a pretext for raising *an army*, which was, for some time, kept on foot *in time of peace*, in the very teeth of the constitution. A *sedition bill*

was passed with power of *sending aliens out of the country*; and many other things were done, in the heat of the moment, which Mr. Adams, had he not been surrounded by the Massachusetts federalists, never would have thought of, being a republican at heart, and a real friend to the liberties of his country.

Mr. Adams's presidency ended in March, 1800. He was proposed to be *re-elected*; but he lost his election, and the choice fell upon Mr. Jefferson, who had always been deemed the head of the republican party. The truth is, that the *people* were republicans. Every thing had been tried; threats, alarms, religion, all sorts of schemes; but they took alarm at nothing but the attempts upon their liberty, and they hurled down the party who had made those attempts. Since that time, the government has been in the hands of the republicans. Mr. Jefferson was president for eight years, Mr. Madison for four years, and is now going on for the second four years.

Your lordship knows, as well as any man upon earth, how fond people are of *place* and *power*; and that no part of any opposition is so bitter and troublesome as that part, which consists of men, whose ambitious hopes may have been blasted by their being *turned out of place*. It now happened, very naturally, but rather oddly, that the federalists became the opposition to the federal government; but they still retained, and do retain their title; *though, really, they ought to be called, the aristocrats, or royalists*.

This opposition is now, however, chiefly confined to the *state of Massachusetts*, the state government of which, has even *talked about separating from the union*. Your lordship has heard of a Mr.

Henry, who was, it seems in close consultation and correspondence with the persons holding the reins of government in Massachusetts *upon the subject of separation*, and who pretended that he was employed by Sir James Craig, governor of Canada, for that purpose. Your lordship, I believe, *disclaimed* him and his intrigues, and, therefore, I must believe, of course, that he was *not* employed by our governor. But the people of America have been led to believe, that there must have been *something in his story*.

This state of Massachusetts contains a great number of men of talents ; many rich men, become so chiefly *by the purchasing, at a very low rate, of the certificates of soldiers who served in the late war, and by procuring acts of congress to cause the sums to be paid in full*, which, indeed, was thought and openly said, to be their main object in pressing for a federal government with large powers. These men, now disappointed in all their ambitious hopes ; seeing no chance of becoming petty noblemen ; seeing the offices and power of the country pass into other hands, without the smallest probability of their return to themselves, unless they be content to abandon all their high notions of family distinction ; these men have become *desperate* ; and if I am to judge from their proceedings, would plunge their country into a civil war, rather than yield quiet obedience to that very government, which they had been so long in the practice of censuring others for not sufficiently admiring. But, my lord, though there is a *majority of voices* in Massachusetts *on our side* ; FOR ON OUR SIDE THEY REALLY ARE, there is a thumping minority on the other side : and what is of great importance in the estimate, that minority consists of the nerves, the bones, and sinews of the population of the state ;

so that the sum total of our ground of reliance, as to a separation of the states, is the good will of the most numerous but most feeble and inefficient part of the people of the state of Massachusetts ; and even these, I am fully persuaded, are, by this day, awed into silence by the determined attitude of the rest of the country.

The same charges which our vile newspapers have been preferring against Mr. Madison, have been preferred against him by their *serene highnesses* of Massachusetts. They have accused him of a *devotion to France* ; they have, in our newspaper style, called him the “ *tool of Napoleon* ;” they too have dared to assert, that he made war upon us, *without the slightest provocation*, for the purpose of aiding Napoleon in destroying England, “ *the bulwark of their religion*.” They have held public feasts and rejoicings at the entrance of the *Cossacks* into France, and at the restoration of the ancient order of things. You will bear in mind, that these people are staunch *Presbyterians* ; and it would amuse your lordship to read the orations, *preachings*, and *prayers* of these people ; to witness their gratitude to Heaven *for restoring the Pope*, whom they used to call the scarlet whore, the whore of Babylon ; for the re-establishment of the *Jesuits* ; and for the re-opening of the dungeons, the re-sharpening of the hooks, and the re-kindling of the flames of the *inquisition*.—Their opponents, the republicans, say, we never were the friends of Napoleon, as a despot, nor even as an emperor ; we never approved of any of his acts of oppression, either in France, or out of France ; we always complained of his acts of injustice towards ourselves ; but he was less hurtful to our country than other powers ; and, as to mankind in general, though we regretted

to see him with so much power, we feared that that power would be succeeded by something worse; and we cannot now rejoice, that the pope is restored, that the Jesuits are re-established, the inquisition re-invigorated; that monkery is again overspreading the face of Europe; and that the very hope of freedom *there* seems to be about to be extinguished for ever. And this, your lordship may be assured is the language of nineteen-twentieths of the people of America.

There are, it is to be observed, *federalists* in all the states, which you will easily believe, when you consider how natural it is for men, or at least, how prone men are, to wish to erect themselves into *superiour classes*. As soon as a man has got a great deal of money, he aims at something beyond that. He thirsts for distinctions and titles. His next object is to hand them down to his family. It will require great watchfulness and great resolution in the Americans to defeat this propensity. You have not leisure for it, or it would amuse you to trace the workings of this *would-be nobility* in America. They are very shame-faced about it; but they let it peep out through the crannies of their *hypocrisy*.—Being defeated, and totally put to the rout in the open field by the general good sense of the people, they have resorted to the most contemptible devices for effecting, by degrees, that which they were unable to carry at a push. They have established what they call “*Benevolent Societies*,” to which they have prefixed, by way of epithet, or *characteristic*, the name of Washington. The *professed* object of these societies, who have their periodical *orations*, *preachings* *prayings*, and *toastings*, was to afford relief to any persons who might be in *distress*.—The REAL OBJECT appears to have been

to enlist *idlers* and *needy persons* under their political banners. These little coteries of *hypocrites* appear to have assembled, as it were, by an unanimous sentiment, or, rather by instinct, to celebrate the fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the pope, the Jesuits and the inquisition. But unfortunately for this affiliation of hypocrites, they have little or no *materials* to work upon in America, where a man can earn a week's subsistence in less time than he can go to apply for and obtain it without work ; and, accordingly, the affiliation seems destined to share the fate of the *serene highness's* propositions of 25 years ago.

The fall of Napoleon, so far from weakening, will tend to strengthen the general government, in the hands of the republicans. It has deprived its enemies of the grand topic of censure ; the main ground of attack. The "*Cossacks*," as they are now sometimes called, of Massachusetts, can no longer charge the president with being the "*tool of Napoleon*"—they no longer stand in need of England as "*the bulwark of religion*," seeing that they have the pope, the Jesuits, the Benedictines, the Franciscans, the Carthusians, the Dominicans, and above all, *the inquisition*, to supply her place in the performance of that godly office. They will no longer, they can no longer, reproach the president for his attachment to *France* ; for France has now a *king*, a *legitimate sovereign*, who regularly hears mass. They are now, therefore, put in this dilemma ; they must declare openly for England against their country, or, by petty cavilling, must make their opposition contemptible. The former they *dare* not do ; and, they are too full of spite not to do the latter. So that their doom, I imagine, is sealed ; and their fall will not be much less complete than that of Napo-

leon himself, with this great difference, however, that his name and the fame of his deeds will descend to the latest posterity, while their projects of ennobling themselves at the expence of their country's freedom and happiness, will be forgotten and forgiven before one half of them are eaten by worms.

This is my view of the matter. Your lordship will probably think it erroneous; but, if it prove correct, how long and how bitterly shall we have to deplore the existence of this bloody contest.

I am, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

(Letter II. has not yet come to hand.)

LETTER III.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY LORD—In the American newspapers I have seen an article entitled "*British botheration*," in which article are noticed in a most ludicrous, but most provoking manner, all the wise observations made in England as to the cause of our ships being beaten by those of America.—At the close of the article, the writer states what he regards as the *real* cause, but which statement I will, for my *health's* sake, refrain from repeating to your lordship. But if this saucy republican gave the title of *botheration* to our former puzzlings upon this head, what will he say now, when the question is become ten thousand times more embroiled than ever? The speeches attributed to the *opposition*, upon this subject, present matter worthy of public observation. Mr. *Horner* lays the blame of the failure on the Lakes *Erie* and *Champlain*; he attributes those memorable victories of the Americans, to the *ministry*. He complains that you and your colleagues left our naval commanders to contend with a *vast superiority of force*. The American official account in both cases, makes the superiority of the force on *our* side; and, as to *Lake Champlain*, Sir George Prevost himself gives *us* a superiority of *seven* guns. I am, for my part, at a loss to discover the policy of ascribing every disgrace to the ministers, and every

success to the commanders. Of its flagrant injustice there can be no doubt ; and, it appears to me, that its folly is not much more questionable. Wellington was made a duke for his success ; but, according to the present way of thinking, or of talking, the secretary of the war department should have been made a duke, and Wellington remained what he was ; and the lords of the admiralty should have had all the ribbons, stars, and titles that have been bestowed on naval commanders. If to the commanders belong the praises of victories : to them also belong upon the face of the matter, the blame of defeat.

Much reliance appears to be placed by the opposition, on the circumstance of captain Barclay having been honourably acquitted by a court martial. For, say they, if he was provided with a force equal to that of the Americans, he must have been guilty ; and if he was not, the ministers are to blame. They take the sentence of the court martial, therefore, as a proof of the guilt of the ministers. But is it not very evident that this conclusion is false ? Captain Barclay might be as brave a man as ever existed : he might have acted with wisdom equal to his bravery ; he might have had a superiority of guns and men ; he might have been defeated ; yet he might be perfectly free from any blame, and might, on the contrary, merit honours and rewards, still the admiralty might deserve no censure whatever. The Americans might have abler seamen ; they might, from their superior bodily strength and agility, be able to fire quicker than we ; they might fight with an unheard degree of resolution and eagerness ; they might be animated by feelings unknown to the bosoms of their adversaries. What ! is it to become a maxim, that whenever one of our comman-

ders is defeated, there must be a *crime* either in him or in the ministry? Must he be punished or they condemned? Must he be their accuser, or they be his accusers? This would soon introduce a very amicable sort of connection between the commanders and the ministry. The truth is, my lord, that there is a degree of mortification and of shame, attached to these naval victories of the Americans, that drives men, and particularly naval men, who have all the mass of the people with them, to all sorts of follies and inconsistencies. They do not know what to say or to do, in order to get rid of this insupportable mortification. Sometimes Johnny Bull says to Jonathan, "you have got *some* English sailors in your ships"—"May be so," says Jonathan, "but you have got *all* English sailors in your ships"—"Aye," replies John, "but you have got the *best* of our sailors," "may be so," says Jonathan, "but then how comes the *best* of your sailors to desert from your service to come into mine?" "No, no!" rejoins John hastily, "I don't mean the *best men*; I mean they fight more *desperately* than those we have on board, because the rascals know that if they are taken they will be *hanged*"—"Oh fie! Johnny," rejoins Jonathan, "do you think that Englishmen will fight better from a dread of the *gallows*, than from a love of their king and glorious constitution?" "No," says John, "I said no such thing. You have got *heavier shot*, and *stronger powder*, and *more guns*, and *more men*"—"Indeed Johnny," says Jonathan, "why I am sure you *pay* enough for your ships, shot, guns, men, and powder. Your navy and ordnance, last year, cost you twenty-five millions sterling, which is *more than twenty times* as much as ours is to cost us *next year*, though we are building fleets and forming

dock-yards, besides defending, lakes and all, three thousand miles of sea coast.”—“ Well,” says John, ready to burst with anger, “ what is that to you, what I *pay* ? I will pay it, if I like to pay it”—“ Oh dear !” says Jonathan, “ dont be angry old friend, I have not the least objection to *your paying* : only, I hope I shall not hear any more about the *property tax*”—“ You are a *saucy* scoundrel,” says John, foaming with rage ; “ you deserve a good drubbing, you Yankee dog, and you will *get it yet*—and, at any rate, if I pay taxes, I’ll make you pay taxes too, If I am miserable myself, I’ll make you unhappy, if I can.”

It is to this mortification my lord, that you have to ascribe the attacks of the newspapers on the naval administration, which really appears to me to have done *more* in Canada than could have been expected at their hands. You see that the opposition here are supported by the country, who will blame you, blame sir George Prevost, blame our powder, shot, ship, gun-locks ; blame any person or thing ; blame and execrate all the world, rather than acknowledge that the republicans are, gun to gun and man to man, our *masters upon the sea*. Far be it from me to censure a reluctance to come to such an acknowledgment. The reluctance arises from a love of one of the best professions of one’s country, namely, its fame in deeds of arms.—But, then, it is manifest, that this patriotic feeling, if not subjected to reason and enlightened views, may be productive of great injustice towards commanders, or ministers, or both ; and may expose the nation to great and lasting misery. The opposition are feeding this feeling—They ascribe every failure to you and your colleagues : and they studiously keep out of sight the *real cause* of those failures—They justify

the war on our part ; they fan the flame ; they excite false hopes of future success ; they say to the people, we have failed hitherto from the fault of the ministry ; and thereby, they cause it to be believed, that better may be done for the future, without any radical change in our political and naval systems ; and, in doing so, they do, in my opinion, as great an injury as they can possibly do the country.

Next to the ministry comes sir George Prevost. Mr. Horner did not know which was to blame, the ministry or the colonial governor.—The fleet had been beat and captured, and Mr. Horner was sure that it must have been owing to something other than the fleet itself, or at least its commanders. It never could be their fault. Men who fought two hours and twenty minutes within a few yards of the mouths of the opposing cannon, and whose vessels had not a mast or any thing standing to which a sail could be fastened. Such men could not be in *fault*. They fought most bravely. They were *overpowered*. They lost their fleet, but ungrateful is the country, and base the man, who insinuates that they ought to have done more. They could do no more. If they had continued to fight, they must have been all blown to pieces, without the power of resistance. No ; it was not the fault of the officers of our fleet ; it was the fault of the *Yankees*, for being so strong in body, so agile, so dexterous, and so determined. Mr. Horner should have made a motion against them. Suppose he were, next time, to make a motion for *prosecuting* them ? If we could get at them in that way, it would soon benumb their faculties. “ Aye,” say the people about Portsmouth and Gosport, “ it is time *an inquiry* was made ! it is a shame that sir George Prevost is not brought home and *punished*.” I assure you

lordship that this is their language ; and they will be quite outrageous when they find that he is not to be punished ; but, on the contrary, is to remain where he is. There is no one hereabouts who does not think that sir James Yoe's letter to the lords of the admiralty is a *finisher* for sir George.

To such a pitch of folly has the nation been pushed by their notions of the *invincibility* of the navy, that a *captain* in that service is looked upon as the absolute arbiter of the fate of a *lieutenant general* of the army, and the *governor of a province*, under whose command he is serving. Sensible men were disgusted at the arrogance of sir James Yeo's letter ; but it was well suited to the capacities and tastes of those who sing, or listen to Dibdin's nauseous trash about the fleet and sailors. Upon the heads of those who demand these *inquiries* and *exposures*, be the consequences. These consequences will be clear proof, that our *naval* officers had a *sufficiency of force* upon both the occasions alluded to, and that *they* were to blame, if *any body* was, for their defeats. Sir George Prevost will never suffer himself to be regarded as the cause of these calamities and disgraces ; and I am very sure that the ministry, having the power, will not neglect the means of justifying themselves. So that all this stir will only tend to make the mortification of the navy greater than it now is ; the prejudices of the nation will only receive the greater shock ; and the world will only have completer proof of those very facts which we are so anxious to disguise or disfigure. It was observed during the debate that though our ships of war were quite sufficiently provided with the means of " combatting an *ordinary* foe, they ought to have been fitted out in an extraordinary way to combat *such a foe as the Americans !*" But sup-

pose the admiralty not to have fitted them out in this *extraordinary way*? Were they to blame for that? Was there a man in the country who did not *despise* the American navy? Was there a public writer besides myself, who did not doom that navy to destruction *in a month*? Did not all parties exceedingly relish the description given in a very august assembly, of “half a dozen of *fir* frigates, with *bits of striped bunting* at their mast-heads?” Did not the *Guerriere* sail up and down the American coast, with her *name* written on her flag, challenging those *fir* frigates? Did not the whole nation, with one voice, exclaim at the affair of the *Little Belt*—“Only let Rodgers come *within reach* of one of our *frigates*?”

If, then, such was the opinion of the whole nation, of all men of all parties; with what justice is the board of admiralty blamed for not thinking otherwise; for not sending out the means of combatting an *extraordinary* sort of foe; for not issuing a privilege to our frigates to run away from one of those *fir* built things with *a bit of striped bunting at its mast head*? It has always been the misfortune of England that her rulers and her people have spoken and have thought contemptuously of the Americans. Your lordship and I were boys, and indeed not born, or at least I was not, when our king first was involved in a quarrel with the Americans—but almost as long as I can remember any thing, I can remember that this contempt was expressed in the songs and sayings of the clodhoppers amongst whom I was born and bred; in doing which we conducted, down to the earth that we delved, the sentiments of the squires and lords.—The result of the former war, while it enlightened nobody, added to the vindictiveness of hundreds of

thousands; so that we have entered into this war with all our old stock of *contempt* and a vastly increased stock of rancour. To think that the American republic is to be a *great power* is insupportable. Some men, in order to keep her down, in their language, and at the same time, not to use harsh expressions, observe that she is only *another part of ourselves*. They wish her to be thought, if not dependent upon us, still to be a sort of younger child of our family, coming in after *Ireland, Jamaica, &c.*

I met a worthy Scots gentleman, a month or two ago, who wished that some man of ability would propose a scheme that he had, and without which, he said, *we would never have peace again*. “ Well sir (said I) and pray what is your scheme ? ” “ Why (said he) it is very simple—It is to form an UNION with the American states.” It was raining, and I wanted to get on; so that I had not time to ascertain what *sort* of union he meant. This gentleman however, was remarkably moderate in his views. The far greater part of the nation expect absolute colonial submission; and if our fleets and armies should not finally succeed in bringing a property tax from America into his majesty’s exchequer the far greater part of the people will be most grievously disappointed. So that this *contempt* of the Yankees has given your lordship and your colleagues a good deal to do in order to satisfy the hopes and expectations which have been excited, and which, I assure you, are confidently entertained. Of the effect of this *contempt* I know nobody, however, who have so much reason to repent as the officers of his majesty’s navy. If they had triumphed, it would only have been over half a dozen of fir frigates, with *bits of bunting at their mast heads*. They were sure to gain no reputation in the contest; and if

they were defeated, what was their lot? The worst of it is, they themselves did, in some measure, contribute to their own ill fate: for of all men living, none spoke of "poor Jonathan" with so much contempt. To read their letters, or the letters which our newspaper people pretend to have received from them at the onset of the war, one would have thought that they would hardly have condescended to *return a shot* from a *bunting* ship. And now to *see that bit of bunting flying so often over the British flag!* Oh! it is stinging beyond expression. The people in the country cannot think how it is.—There are some people who are for taking the American commodores at their word, ascribing their victories to the immediate intervention of Providence. Both Perry and M'Donough begin their despatches by saying—"Almighty God has given us a victory." Some of their clergy upon this ground alone, call them Christian heroes, and compare them to Joshua, who, by the bye, was a Jew. I observe that when any of them get beaten, they say nothing about supernatural agency; yet there is still a victory on one side or the other: and if they ascribe *their* victories to such agency, why not ascribe *our* victories, and of course their own defeats, to this same overruling cause? If Mr. Madison had told the congress that "Almighty God had been pleased to enable the enemy to burn their capital," how they would have stared at him! Yet, surely, he might have said that with as much reason as commodore M'Donough ascribed his victory to such interposition. If commodore Perry, who captured our fleet on Lake Erie, had been met at New York with looks of perfect indifference, instead of being feasted and toasted as he was, and had been told that the cause of this, was, that *he* had gained no victory, even according to his own official account—how

silly he would have looked ! And yet he could have no reason to complain.

I perceive also many other instances of this aping propensity in the Americans. It is the "*honourable* William Jones, secretary of the navy ;" the "*honourable* the mayor of New York ;" " his *honour* the chief justice ;" and even the members of congress call one another "*honourable* gentlemen," and their "*honourable* friends."—I was not till of late aware, that this sickly taste was become so prevalent in America. This is indeed *contemptible*—and England will have, in a few years, a much better ground of reliance for success, in this change of national character in America, than in the force of our arms. When once the hankering after titles becomes general in that country ; when once riches will have produced that effect, the country will become an easy prey to an old, compact, and easily wielded government like ours. When men find that they cannot obtain titles under the form of government now existing, they will as soon as they have the opportunity, sell the country itself to any sovereign, who will gratify their base ambition. This is the *slow poison* that is at work on the American constitution. It will proceed, unless speedily checked, to the utter destruction of that which it has assailed. Our best way is to make peace with them now, and leave this poison to work. By the time they get to "*right honourable*," we shall be ready to receive their allegiance. When the *bit of bunting* comes to be exchanged for some sort of *armorial* thing, the fellows who now " fight like blood-thirsty savages," as our papers say, will become as tame and as timid as sheep.

LETTER V.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY LORD—The nation begin to suspect, at last, that this American war may prove an unfortunate thing. If your lordship recollects, I taunted Johnny Bull, flouted him and gibed, when, at the outset of this war, he crowed and cock-cock-caw'd, at the idea of giving the Yankees *a good drubbing*.—If your lordship recollects that I flouted wise John, and told him, that, at any rate, I hoped, if he was resolved to enjoy this sport, he would never let me hear him say a word about the *property tax*, or, what he vulgarly calls the *income tax*. I knew, from the beginning, that I should see him galled here. I knew that I should have him upon his hip : and here I have him, for he is now crying out against the *tax*, as loud as a pig under the knife of a butcher, though he, at the same time, seems to have no objection to the work of slaughtering going on. In short, so that he is safe himself, and pays nothing, his delight is in seeing the war desolate the rest of the world. But he does not like to *pay*. Rather than pay, he would give the world a chance of being at peace, and of ceasing to bleed.

That so amiable a personage should meet with any rubs or crosses in life must, of course, be matter of regret with his friends, and must remind them of the maxim, that, as virtue alone is not, in all

cases, sufficient to inspire happiness in this world, the virtuous afflicted ought chiefly to rely on the world to come. This sort of reliance is very suitable to Johnny, at this time ; for *he has not given the Yankees a drubbing* ; and yet the income tax sticks to him like bird lime. The Times newspaper cheers him, indeed, by telling him, that he is *causing the Yankees to pay taxes* ; that, though he so sorely feels himself, he does not suffer *in vain* ; for that he is *making others suffer too*. To be sure, this is a consoling reflection ; but still it is not quite sufficient to reconcile him to the continuation of the income tax, seeing that, when called on for the money, he sometimes forgets the delight of seeing others suffer, which he has enjoyed for his money.

But now, my lord, leaving wise Johnny, amiable and honest Johnny, to his taxes and his hopes of giving the Yankees *a drubbing*, permit me to remind your lordship, briefly, of the *origin of this war* ; for, if I have life to the end of it, this origin shall not be forgotten. It is necessary, at every stage, to keep it steadily in view : for, unless we do this, we shall be wholly “*bothered*” out of it at last, as we were in the case of the French war.

The war against France was a war against *principles* at first ; it then became a war of *conquest* ; and it ended in being a war for *deliverance*. We set out with accusing our enemy with being dangerous, as *disorganizers of ancient governments* ; and we ended with accusing them of being dangerous, as *despots*. The French were *too free* for us at the beginning, and *too much enslaved* for us at the end ; and it was so contrived as to make more than half the world believe that the Cossocks were the great champions of *civil and political liberty*.

So, that, when we came to the close, leaving the French nearly as we found them, not seeing tythes, monks, game-laws, gabelles, corvess, bastiles, seigneurial courts re-established, we had spent more than *a thousand millions of pounds* in a war, of the first object of which we had wholly lost sight. We will not have it thus, my lord, with regard to the American war. We will not suffer its first object to be lost sight of. Nobody, as to this point, shall be able to "*bother*" any historian who is disposed to speak the truth.

The war with America arose thus—We were at war with France, America was neutral. We not only exercised our known right of stopping American merchant ships at sea, to search them for *enemy's goods*, for *troops in the enemy's service*, and for goods *contraband of war*, which species of search, and of seizure in case of detection, Mr. Madison did not oppose either by word or deed. This is a *maritime right*, sometimes disputed by Russia, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden; but never given up by us, except for a while, at a time of great danger. This right was never disputed by Mr. Madison during the French war. The exercise of it he submitted to without complaint. This was our "*right of search*;" and this right was enjoyed by us, without any complaint on his part; and this is the right which many people think he opposed, and upon *that* ground they have approved the war.

But the war had nothing to do with this right, any more than it had to do with our right of bringing coals from Newcastle to London. The war was declared by Mr. Madison against us, because we stopped American merchant ships upon the high seas, and *impressed people* out of them. We said, that we did this in order to recover *our own*

seamen, who were frequently found serving in these American ships ; but it was notorious, the fact was never denied, and never can be denied, that we *impressed* thus, great numbers of *native Americans*, forced them on board of our ships of war, and *compelled* them to submit to our *discipline*, and to risk their lives in fighting for us. These are facts which can never be denied. Mr. Madison, for years, called upon us to cease this practice. We did not cease. He repeatedly threatened war if we persevered. We did persevere ; and, after years of remonstrance, he, or rather the two houses of congress, the real representatives of the people of America, declared war against us.

Here then, is the cause of the war ; the sole cause of the war ; war, long threatened, and, at last frankly declared, previous to any hostile act or movement on the part of Mr. Madison, or rather the congress. For, my lord, though Johnny Bull, though wise Johnny, whose generosity would put all other nations into his own happy state ; though wise and generous John talks about Mr. Madison's hostility, it is, in fact the hostility of the *congress* ; that is to say, the hostility of the *people* : because the congress are the *real* and not the *sham* representatives of the people ; and because the congress, who declared, and who now support the war, have been chosen *during* the war, and *just before it*. The members of the congress do not purchase their seats : no seats can be bought or sold ; none of the members can get any thing for themselves or families for their votes. So that when they decide, it is, in reality, a majority of the people who decide ; and, the people did decide, that they would *resist, by force of arms, the impressment of their seamen*.

The people here generally believe what the infamous print, the *Times* newspaper tell them, that the people of America never *complained* of such impressments ; but the truth is, that long before, *years* before, the war was declared, complaints, and most bitter complaints, had rung through the country, against these impressments. Letters from the impressed persons were published without end. Affidavits proving the fact. Representations enough to make a nation mad with resentment ; enough to drive even quakers to arms. None of these have our newspapers ever copied. None of these have they ever made known to their readers. They have published the harangues of Goodloe Harper, H. G. Otis, poor Timothy Pickering, and other would-be noblesse. They have given us every thing from the free press of America, at all calculated to cause it to be believed, that the war is unpopular there ; but not a word on the other side ; not a word to let us see what were the real sentiments of the majority of the republic. I will now lay before your lordship some of the complaints of the impressed Americans, as published in the American newspapers ; for, I am convinced, that even *you* are not acquainted fully of the nature and tone of those complaints, and, at any rate, the publications should, if possible, be rebutted on our part, seeing, that they must produce such a hatred of us in the minds of the people of America, as will, if not by some means mollified, lead to a never ceasing hostility. Your lordship will perceive, that these statements are sent forth with all the forms of judicial acts ; that they consist of statements made on oath ; that these statements are certified by legal magistrates, whose names are affixed to them ; and that, of course, they are calculated to have great

weight with the public. It is not a bad way to make the case our own : to suppose such complaints made in our papers against America, or any other nation ; and, then, to judge of the effect that those complaints would make on the people of England, recollecting that the Americans are not base and cowardly more than we are.

[Here followed several depositions, copied from the newspapers, of impressed American seamen.]

Now, my lord, I do not say that these statements are *true*. In spite of all the particular detail of names, dates and places ; in spite of oaths and certificates, they *may be* false ; but as it is to such statements that we owe this unfortunate war, we surely ought to endeavour to *prove*, that some, at least, of these statements are false. The republican newspapers teem, and teemed long before the war, with publications of this sort. The blood of America was set boiling with such publications. — The vote of congress for the war was the most popular vote ever given by that body. It is, therefore, of vast importance that these publications should be counteracted if possible. They are either true or false ; if the latter, as I would fain hope, they can be easily refuted ; if true, which it would be shocking to believe, certainly we ought to be very ready and forward to make atonement to the Americans for what they have suffered.

These statements have, too, produced another most serious effect. They have filled the crews of the American ships with implacable revenge. To the usual motives of patriotism and glory, they have added the still more powerful motive of vengeance. Against crews, thus animated, men under the influence of the mere ordinary motive to bravery really cannot be expected to succeed without a great su-

periority of force. I leave your lordship to suppose what would be the effect of statements like these, if the case were *OURS*. If we were at peace with all the world and were carrying on our commerce agreeably to the laws of *neutrality*, while the Americans were at war with some other power ; and if the Americans were to impress *Englishmen* from on board English ships, bringing up coals from Newcastle to London, were to force them into their ships of war, compel them to fight for America ; and, in short, to occasion, in the English papers, statements such as I have above quoted. If this were the case, does your lordship think, that *we* should be very quiet ? And if such statements would be likely to set us in a flame, are we to suppose, that they have had no effect on the Americans ?

Here, my lord, as you well know, we have the real cause of that war, which, it is said, is now to engage *a hundred thousand men, two hundred ships of war*, and which cannot cost less than twenty millions a year. It has been asserted, that the congress declared war against us to assist Napoleon on the continent. This is so foolish that the writers must think that they are addressing it to men little superior to brutes. It was impossible that the Americans could know where Napoleon was, when they declared war. It was impossible that their war should really aid him in his designs against Russia. It was against their interest that Russia should be crushed by any power, and especially by France. The other charge, that America, "like an assassin, attacked us *in the dark*," is equally false and foolish. How could an open declaration of war, by a legislative assembly, after *repeated discussion*, by an act deserving such a description ?

observes, “ that when an American gentleman of *splendid attainments*, some years ago, composed his celebrated review of the *conscription code* of that monster *Bonaparte*, he could not possibly foresee, that his own country would so soon be subjected to the same *barbarous humiliation*.” This gentleman of “ *splendid attainments*,” was a Mr. Walsh, of Philadelphia, who, having been in France, came over to England, where, under the patronage of the friends of bribery and corruption, he wrote and published a pamphlet, calculated to aid their views. This pamphlet clearly shewed that the author was one of those Americans, who, by the vain splendour that they here behold, and by the hope of sharing in it, have been induced to apostatise from the principles of their own republican government. This young man, whose work was really a very poor performance, abounding with inconsistencies, and, indeed, with downright falsehoods, had his head turned by the flatteries of the hireling writers and reviewers here : and I should not wonder if his work acquired him the unspeakable felicity of hearing, that *even his name was mentioned* in a conversation between two lords. The great recommendation of the work was, that it was not the work of an *Englishman*. No ; it was said, the work of an *American*, who, *of course*, was a *friend* of the French, and not at all disposed to exaggerate in describing their misery. This was the fraudulent colour under which the work got into circulation. Mr. Walsh was a tool in the hands of crafty men, who dazzled him with praises.

But now as to the *resemblance* between Mr. Monroe’s measure and the conscription of Napoleon :

1st, The French conscription was decreed by an arbitrary despot, assisted by an assembly whom the people had not chosen. The levy in America is ordered by a law, passed by the congress, who are the *real* and not the *sham* representatives of the people; who have recently been freely chosen by the people; and who, if they desire to be re-elected, must act so as to please the people, the time of their re-election being near at hand.

2d. The French conscript was called out to fight for the support and aggrandizement of *a particular family*, and for the support also of *nobles* in the possession of their titles and estates. It was the honour of the *crown* that the Frenchman were called on to fight for, and that, too, in distant lands. The American citizen is called out to defend no *sovereign family*, no *crown*, no *nobles*, to give no security and to gain no renown for *them*, or any of them; but to fight for the safety, liberty, and honour of the country, where there are no distinctions of rank, and where, of course, every individual fights, when he does fight, in his *own* cause as much as in the cause of the president himself.

3d. The French conscription compelled *personal service*. The American levy contains no such compulsion. Every twenty-five men, between the ages of 18 and 45, are to *furnish* one man. If no one of the twenty-five will serve in person, the whole twenty-five together, are, *according to their property*, to pay a certain sum of money.

4th. The French conscript, while he left, perhaps, an aged father or mother at home living in penury, was fighting for an emperor, whose wife carried about her person, at the nation's expence, decorations, which cost as much as would have fed thousands of families for a year. The American le-

vyman, knows, that his government, all taken together, president, congress, judges, secretaries, clerks, and all, do not cost so much in a year, as is swallowed by an imperial family in one single day.

5th. France was not *invaded*. This is a very material point. America was, and is *invaded*. Her villages, towns, and cities, have been plundered and burnt. A *continuation* of this mode of warfare has been distinctly declared by our admiral to have been resolved upon. It is invasion, it is devastation, it is fire, it is the sword, it is plunder at their very doors, and in their very dwellings on the coast, that the American levy are called forth to repel, to punish or to prevent. It is no possible, no imaginary, no distant danger that has called forth this measure from the congress; it is *actual invasion*; it is an enemy in the country, there laying waste, plundering, and killing; lawfully, if you please; but that is no matter. If Napoleon had landed an army here, he would have been justified in so doing by the laws of war; but, when we expected him even to make the *attempt*, at invasion, did *we* confine ourselves to measures like this of Mr. Monroe? Did we not call upon the *whole* of the people to be ready to come out *under martial law*? But I am here anticipating another part of the subject of my letter.

So much, then, for the *resemblance* between the French conscription and the American levy; and, I am sure, that your lordship will allow, that they no more resemble one another than this REGISTER resembles the *Times* newspaper. What, then, becomes of Mr. Walter's bombastical trash about *sanguinary despots* and *chained conscripts*? Yet, he will find dupes! He has found dupes for many years, and he will continue to find them upon this subject, I fear, 'till we shall see an *American fleet*

on the coast of Ireland, an occurrence more probable than, at one time, was thought the capture of an English frigate by a republican thing with a *bit of striped bunting at its mast head*, as Mr. Canning thought proper to describe the American frigates.

But, my lord, it is not with the French conscription alone that I mean to compare the republican levy. Let us see (for that will bring the thing home to us) what is the nature of this measure of Mr. Monroe compared with our *Militias*.

We have two or three militias ; but there are two clearly distinguished from each other : One is called *the militia*, and the other the *local militia*. The former consists of men called out by BALLOT, WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO THE AMOUNT OF THEIR PROPERTY. Each man, so called on, must serve in person, or must, out of his own pocket, find a man to serve in his stead ; and, service is, in all respects, except that of being sent over sea, the same as that of the regular soldiers ; seeing that the man may be marched to any part of the kingdom, may be quartered in camp, in barracks, and is subjected to all military pains and penalties, the price of substitutes has long been so high, that no labourer or journeyman has, out of his own pocket been able to procure a substitute. Now, you see, there is a wide difference here. For the man of small means in America has twenty-four others to assist him in paying the money necessary to engage a substitute. Twenty-five men are put into a class. If one of them goes to serve, the others are able to make him a handsome compensation. If none of them choose to serve, the money in lieu of the service of one man is to be collected from twenty-five men. And, which is the beauty of this admirable scheme, when it comes to the payment of money, each person is to pay, not the *same* sum, but a *sum in proportion to*

his means. In England the names of *all* of certain ages in each parish, are put into a box, out of which the number wanted are drawn. It happens, of course, that, of four, one is a rich merchant, another a farmer, another a journeyman taylor, and another a labourer. Each is to serve in person or to find a substitute. The price of the substitute is as high for the poor as for the rich. The two latter, therefore, who have no property to defend, must serve, or they must rake together the means of paying for the defence of the property of the rich, and thus involve themselves in debt, and expose their families, if they have any to misery. But you see Mr. Monroe's scheme most effectually provides against this. It puts all the male population, between 18 and 45, into classes of twenty-five men. Each class is to send one man. If they agree amongst themselves who shall go, the thing is done. If none of them choose to go, then the twenty-five are to pay a sum of money ; but *here* they are not to pay *alike*; the journeyman taylor and the labourer are not to pay like the merchant and the farmer ; every man of the twenty-five is to pay *in proportion to his property* ; and thus does the burden of defence fall with arithmetical correctness on the thing to be defended.

And *this*, my lord, is what Mr Walter calls a "*conscription* ; this he calls a measure of "*barbarous humiliation*" to the people of America ; for proposing this measure he calls Mr. Madison a "*sanguinary despot* ;" this is the measure which he says will *never be submitted to* by the republicans. The foolish man will soon have to announce his astonishment at the complete success of the measure : if he has not, I will acknowledge myself to be as great a fool as he.

But, to proceed, our *local militia* were to serve only within their several counties, but their service has now been extended; though, except in cases of *urgency*, they are to be called out only a month in the year. Here no man must get the means of hiring a substitute from any *insurance* or *club*. He must make no bargain with his master to work out the amount of the penalty. He must swear that the *ten pounds* comes out of his own present means, or he *must serve in person*. In this case, however, we approach a little nearer to Mr. Monroe's excellent scheme; for in this militia, we proportion the fine, in some measure, to the property of him who refuses to serve; though a rich farmer still pays only about *twenty pounds*, whilst the poorest of his labourers must pay *ten pounds*, though certainly the property of the former may be estimated at two or three thousand times greater than the property of the latter. Now, according to Mr. Monroe's scheme, a couple of farmers would find themselves classed with twenty-three journeymen blacksmiths, collar-makers, wheelwrights, &c. &c. And, of course, the two farmers would pay 24-25ths of the penalty; or, which would be the natural result, one man out of the twenty-five, with a handsome reward from the rest, would cheerfully take up the musket instead of the dung-fork or the sledge-hammer.

But the most important distinction still remains to be noticed: that is to say, that we have, for twenty years, had a militia on foot, under *martial law*, under officers *commissioned by the king*, under the *regular discipline*, lodged in *camps* or *barracks*, marched to *every corner of the kingdom*, without any actual *invasion of the country*. These regiments have been kept up, the balloting has been going on, and no invaders have come to burn our villages,

towns, and cities—or, to plunder them, or to lay them under contribution. While, in America, we are invading and laying waste ; we are taking *permanent* possession of one district ; we are compelling the people to swear allegiance to our king ; we have one army afloat here, another there, more are going out ; and this Mr. Walter is calling till he is hoarse for more troops to be sent to divide and devastate the country, to overturn the republican government, and reduce the people to unconditional submission ; all this he is doing, while he is, at the same time, crying out against the “ barbarous ” scheme of calling upon the people of property to defend their country, either in their persons, or with their purses.—Aye, my lord ! fool as Mr. Walter is, he perceives that Mr. Monroe’s is an infallible scheme for raising an army in a short time, and for keeping that army complete. He, fool as he is, smells powder in every line of this scheme. But it is his business to misrepresent, to disfigure, to induce his well-dressed rabble of readers, and you too, if possible, to believe that the scheme *will fail* and that, *therefore*, we ought to carry on the war with all imaginable energy. I trust, that you will see the danger which this wise and equitable plan presents to us. I trust that you will at once abandon all hopes of extorting any concession from a country which has now shewn, that difficulties and dangers, as they press upon her, only tend to increase her energy, to raise her spirit, and make her more formidable. I have respect enough for the understanding of your lordship to believe that you have read Mr. Monroe’s letter to the chairman of the military committee with great attention, and not without some degree of alarm. But the conclusion of it is so very

As long as they are stimulated with the hope of forcing open the offices of government by the misfortunes of their country, they will *talk big* about a *separation of the union*—but the moment that that hope dies within them, you will see them as quiet as mice. And, really, I do not know of any thing more likely to kill that hope than the scheme of Mr. Monroe, which will not only bring forth an efficient army *now*, but which will hold an efficient army *always in readiness* at a week's notice, while at the same time, it will obviate the necessity of a standing army and of a great *permanent expense*, and will prevent the executive government from acquiring a patronage inconsistent with the principles of republican government, and dangerous to political and civil liberty.

I confess, moreover, that there is another class of men, whom you would mortally offend by making a peace that should be honourable to America: I mean, the *haters of freedom*. I do not mean * * * * * This moment has arrived the *Courier* newspaper with news of *PEACE*. I do not know how to express the pleasure I feel at this news, or the gratitude, which, *for this act*, I, in common with my countrymen, owe to your lordship and your colleagues. Far be it from me to rejoice at what the *Times* calls the *disgrace of the navy of England* and the *humiliation of the crown*; but being fully convinced, the longer the war had continued, the more disgraceful and dangerous would have been the result, I do most sincerely rejoice at this auspicious event, and certainly not the less on account of its being calculated to baffle the views of that hypocritical faction, who have still the impudence to call themselves *whigs*.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 28th Dec. 1814.

[I at first proposed only to introduce four of Mr. Cobbett's letters to Lord Liverpool, but some of his other political pieces on the late American war, are so extremely interesting and pleasurable to me (which in fact was the primary cause of my republishing them in this form, with the subsequent appendages) that I have concluded to introduce the most important of all his writings on the present topic, as they vindicate the American character from the foul and false aspersions of tory calumniators, both in Europe and America, in the most masterly manner; and, as they, in themselves, give an honourable glimpse of the AMERICAN VICTORIES, ON LAND, ON THE LAKES, AND ON THE OCEAN. Indeed Mr. Cobbett deserves a statue of gold and the gratitude of every true American, for boldly vindicating, (though surrounded with tyrants and traitors, sycophants and slaves) the just cause of our injured and insulted republic, the only one the ravages of monarchy and episcopacy has left in the world. For my part, though I abhorred his writings and politics, A. D. 1798, I cannot find language to express the pleasure I received on perusing the subjoined letters, and the gratitude and veneration I feel for their author for the same, A. D. 1815. The pleasure I participate I wish to communicate to my fellow citizens, and gladly would I exhibit to them in particular, and to the population of Europe in general, the usurpation and imposition of monarchy, was my power equal to my will.]

FROM COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER OF SEP. 10, 1814.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

American war.—The *Times* newspaper, which was one of the loudest clamourers for this war, now observes, “with *deep regret*, that it has lingered on, for so many months, without being distinguished by any *memorable stroke*.” If the inflammatory and malicious writer of that paper already experien-

ces *disappointment*, what will he experience during the months, yea, and perhaps, the *years*, of this war, which are yet to come? He, when urging on the nation to this enterprise, told them, with the utmost confidence, that, in a *few weeks* after war should be commenced, "the *boasted American navy* would be annihilated."—Not only has that navy not been annihilated, but it has very much increased. It has annihilated some hundreds of our merchant ships, and has defeated several of our ships of war, some of which, after victory over them, gained in the most wonderful manner, it has added to its own number. It is said, that we are building ships to carry 64 guns, for the express purpose of combatting the American frigates. Ours, it seems, are to be called *frigates* also. This is to avoid the *awkwardness* of acknowledging, that our frigates are not able to cope with American frigates. Now if it should happen that one of these new "*frigates*" of ours is beaten and captured by an American frigate, what will then be said?—For my part, were it with me to carry on the war, I would, after what has passed, resort to no such perilous expedient as this, but would, at once, send *ships of the line* against those formidable frigates, without making any apology for so doing. Before the war began, no word were we told about the frigates. The editors of the *Times* and the *Courier* were only impatient that these frigates should meet ours upon the sea. They said nothing about their stout decks, and their heavy cannon, and their "great big balls." But the moment that the Americans *beat* and *captured* one of our frigates with one of theirs, then we heard these editors, and even the "undaunted sons of Neptune," garbed in blue and gold, exclaiming against the *size* of the American frigates, and the

How could that be called an attack in the dark, especially when it had been threatened for years, and when it was followed immediately by an offer for a *truce*, in order again to negotiate for peace?

Here we have the real origin of the war. Terminate as it will, this was its origin. This origin must not be forgotten, whatever efforts are made to put it out of our heads. When the war shall have ended, and we shall sit down to count the cost, this origin must be kept steadily before us.

The *Times* and *Courier* are still labouring to persuade us, that there will be a *separation* of the American states; that the four New England states will declare themselves *independent of the general government*, and will *form an alliance with Old England*. Now, my lord, mind, I pledge myself, that, if any such proposition be seriously made *by the friends of the famous capt. HENRY*, by the *would-be Noblesse of Massachusetts*, they would very quickly be decorated, not with coats of arms, but with coats of *tar and feathers*. The people of New England are "*essentially republican*." They have been, or at least a part of them, stimulated by very cunning men, to a violent opposition against Mr. Madison and the war. But only let them see the *real* objects of the Pickerings, the Otises, the Quincys, &c. and the fall of these men is as certain as the return of spring after winter. It is not by a *large* majority that even the New England states oppose the war. It is barely "*touch and go*" with the opposition, *even there*. What man in his senses then, can place a moment's reliance on it? And, indeed, the only purpose that it is likely to answer, is that of *deceiving us*, and inducing us to leave the New England seaports *safe places for the building of ships of war, and the fitting out of privateers*. The leaving

of that part of the union unmolested, while we attack the southern states, is just what suits America. She has, in New England, unmolested ports and harbours, out of which to send forth ships of war to annoy our trade and engage our navy, and into which to carry her rich prizes. The Pickering, the Otises, &c. I really believe * * * *

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But, *hang them!* my lord, they are not worth your notice. They *talk big*, and hold themselves out as of great consequence; but *they are poor things*. Indeed, my lord, they are. Timothy Pickering *used to be thought* a very honest man; but, after he was out of office, he seems to have abandoned himself to the revenge, which his disappointment created. He had not the virtue to follow the example of his venerable employer, Mr. Adams, who, upon being out-voted as President, by Mr. Jefferson, said, “I only wished to obtain a majority of voices, that I might serve my country, and now I shall endeavour to serve it by supporting him who has that majority.” Timothy Pickering, who had been, to the astonishment of all the world, his *secretary of state*, who was no more fit for the office, than you coachman would be fit for yours, and who, of course, was inordinately proud of his sudden and unexpected elevation, became furious at the election of Mr. Jefferson, and has been ever since in a sort of mad fit, doing a hundred things, for either of which, in England, he would be sent to jail for a year or two at least. The truth is that Mr. Adams had the *public good* solely in view, and that Timothy had an eye solely to his *private interest*.—Hence the exactly opposite conduct of the two men,

when the voice of the country put them both out of power. I am sure that your lordship and your colleagues, especially your distinguished colleague now at Vienna, would scorn to purchase traitors in any country ; but if you were so disposed, if such men as the famous captain HENRY could possibly prevail on you to lay out any of our money, in this way, on the other side of the Atlantic, such men, though so much applauded in the *Times* newspaper, would not be worth your purchasing.

This is the sort of stuff; this is the rubbish, which the *Times* would have us *rely upon*, for success against the republic ! I beseech your lordship to consider it as it is, the grossest deception that ever was attempted to be palmed upon mankind, Mr. Madison cannot *silence* these men. *He* has no sops. *He* has none of that potent drug, of the possession of which, Smollet tells us, sir Robert Walpole used to boast. They will, therefore, keep on barking ; but, my lord, be assured, that they are wholly unable to bite.

I am, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER VI.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY LORD—It has all along been my wish to see England at *peace* with America.—My reasons for this I have often explained ; and the mode I have pursued has been this : to endeavour to prove, that the grounds of hope of success, held out to us by such writers as the WALTERS, are fallacious. The *division of the states*, the *impeachment of Mr. Madison*, the *resistance of taxation*, and the various other grounds of hope, I have endeavoured to show were hollow, as much as was the expectation of sweeping the ocean of the “half a dozen of fir frigates, with bits of striped bunting at their mast heads.”—The task of counteracting these delusive hopes has increased in arduousness with the progress of the war. Beaten out of one hope, these writers have resorted to others ; and, as was the case in the last American war, pride and shame and revenge are mustered up to prolong a war which policy has abandoned.

There is now a new delusion on foot. Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times* newspaper, who (shocking to think of !) has been a principal actor in producing this calamitous war, is now endeavouring to persuade the public, that the president of America *will be unable* to raise the force voted by congress, to complete the *regular* army of that great

republic to 100,000 men, by way of *ballot*, or what Mr. Walter calls *CONSCRIPTION*. To be sure, this is a measure very well calculated to astound such a man as Mr. Walter, who *knows* nothing at all about the people of America; who receives all his information through the very worst of all possible channels; who appears to be extremely ignorant himself; who publishes purely for gain; who desires to flatter the follies and prejudices of his readers; and who, finding himself the gainer by being the avowed enemy of freedom, in every part of the world, has become, to say nothing of his breeding up, a mortal foe to the American government and people. Such a man, who had been led to suppose, that the defence of a country, like America, was inconsistent with freedom, naturally relied upon the overthrow of the government, the moment it attempted to raise an army to resist its invaders; such a man would naturally be, as he *has* been, almost smothered in the foam of his own malignity, upon seeing a measure like this coolly proposed by Mr. Monroe, (now secretary of war) attentively considered by a committee of congress, and smoothly passing into a law, made, or to be made, by the *real* and not the *sham* representatives of a free people, elected by that people only a few months before, and knowing that they are again to be elected or rejected by that same people a few months afterwards. This has astounded Mr. Walter. It has, apparently, given his brain a shock too rude for its powers of resistance. It has upset all his calculations; and he is now crying out for a rebellion in America as fiercely as he ever cried out for bullets, bayonets, halters, and gibbets for the rebels in Ireland; but, never losing sight of his old object, namely, to delude this nation into the hope that the *measure must*

fail, and that, therefore, we ought *to continue the war*.

Despicable, therefore, as this writer may be ; contemptible as is his stock of understanding ; mean and malignant as may be his motives, his efforts merit attention, and call upon us to counteract them without loss of time. In doing this, I must first take the best account I can find of this grand measure of the American government, to which has been given the name of *conscription*. The following is the report of the bill as published by Mr. Walter himself.

[Here follows an analysis, of the bill as reported by the military committee, on Mr. Monroe's plan.

Such is the measure which Mr. Walter assures us cannot be *carried into effect* ; but says, that *if it could be carried into effect*, would deprive us of Canada in less than a year, unless we sent out our "great *national hero* ;" and, indeed, that, under the bare possibility of such a measure's succeeding, "we ought to cast aside all *European politics*." What a change, my lord ! This foolish gentleman used to tell us that the Americans would be "*reduced*," as the old phrase was, in "*a few weeks*." He has often exhausted all his powers of speech to convince his readers that this enemy was too *despicable* to be treated with in the same sort of way that we treat with other nations. There is no expression of contempt contained in our copious language, which he did not use towards America and her president. And this same foolish Mr. Walter now tells us, that so great is this same America, that, in order to meet her with a chance of success, we ought "*to cast aside all European politics*."

I beg your lordship, now, to have the patience to read Mr. Walters remarks, at full length, upon this

measure of defence in America. The article is of consequence ; because, though coming from such a source, though proceeding from a son or sons of OLD WALTER, of regency memory, it is what will *give the cue* to almost all the rich people in the metropolis, and to not a few of those in the country. After inserting this article, I will endeavour to show its folly and its malice ; and, were the author any other than a Walter, I should not be afraid to promise to make him hide his head for shame.

“ No certain or official account of the rupture of the negociations at Ghent has yet reached this country. Private letters, it is true, have been received, stating that the American commissioner, Mr. Adams, was about to set off for St. Petersburg, and that Mr. Gallatin had proposed that a single individual on each side should be left at Ghent to take advantage of any opening for renewing the negociation ; but both these statements are at variance with those contained in other letters of the latest date from Ghent, received by the French mail of yesterday, according to which the diplomatic intercourse still continued. We repeat, that we do not think this the point to which the public attention ought to be directed. We should look not to the fallacious terms of an artful negociation ; but to the infallible evidence of our enemy’s mind and intentions displayed in his conduct. The bill for a *conscription* of the whole American population is a measure that cannot be mistaken. While such a bill is in progress, and before it is known whether the people will submit to its being carried into execution, it would be *madness to expect a peace*.— It would be madness to expect a peace with persons who have made up their minds to propose so *desperate* a measure to their countrymen : for either

they must succeed, and then the intoxication of their pride will render them utterly intractable ; or (which, is indeed, more probable) they must fail, and their failure must precipitate them from power, and consequently render treating with them impossible. When an *American* gentleman of *splendid attainments*, some years since, composed his celebrated review of the conscription code of that monster Buonaparte, he could not possibly foresee that his own country would, in so short a time, be subject to the same *barbarous humiliation*. The prime and flower of the American citizens are to be taken by lot ! and delivered over to the marshals, who are to deliver them over to the officers authorised to receive them, who are to act at the discretion and under the arbitrary direction of the President. Thus does Mr. Madison, from a simple republican magistrate, suddenly start up *a military despot* of the most *sanguinary character*—a double of the *blood thirsty* wretch at Elba. We are convinced that this sudden and violent *shock to all republican feelings*, to all the habits of the people in all parts of the union, *cannot be made with impunity*. Certain it is that this law cannot stand alone. To give it the least chance of being put in execution, it must be accompanied with all the other chapters of that bloody code by which France was disgraced, and barbarised, and demoralised. Who is to hunt down the refractory conscripts ? Who is to drag them, chained together in rows, to the head quarters of the military division ? Who is to punish them, their parents, relations, and friends ? Even Buonaparte was many years in bringing to its diabolical perfection the machinery of his system ; and carefully as Mr. Monroe may have studied in that accursed school, it cannot be supposed that he has,

at one flight, placed himself on a level with his great instructor. It is highly probable that many of the men who have laboured in the details of oppression and violence under the disturber of Europe, may have by this time, made their way to America, where they will doubtless receive a cordial welcome from Mr. Madison, and be set to work *to rivet the collar on the necks of the American citizens*; but we own, that, "with all appliances and means to boot," the President, in our opinion, must fail. Nevertheless, it would be most dangerous to suffer such an opinion to produce the slightest relaxation in our efforts. The British government should act as if it saw Mr. Monroe at the head of his hundred thousand regulars, well disciplined and equipped, carrying the war, as he distinctly threatens he will do, into the very heart of Canada. Late as it is, we must awake. Eight months ago the duke of Wellington, with his army, might have fallen like a thunderbolt upon the Washington cabinet, leaving them no time for conscriptions, no means of collecting French officers to discipline their troops, no opportunity to intrigue for friendship and support among the continental powers of Europe. It is not yet too late for striking a decisive blow; but that blow must be struck with all our heart and with all our strength. Let us but conceive the proposed hundred thousand regulars embodied in the course of the ensuing spring. Does any one believe that, without a mighty effort on our part, the Canadas could be retained another year?—Would not the exultation of seeing himself at the head of such a force urge Mr. Madison, at all hazards, to complete his often-tried invasion? Even if his scheme should but partially succeed, and he should be only able to drag on a defensive war

for another twelve months, who knows what allies that period may stir up for him, under the false pretences of regard for neutral rights, and for the liberty of the seas? On our side, to conclude a peace at the present moment would be to confess ourselves intimidated by the warlike preparations of the enemy. It seems, therefore, that we have but one path to follow. Whatever was the force destined to act against America before this *DARING BILL* of Mr. Monroe was thought of, *let that force instantly be doubled; let us cast aside all European politics that cross this great and paramount object of our exertions.* Let a general of commanding name be at once despatched to the seat of war. We have often said, and we repeat it, that America is a scene on which the duke of Wellington's talents might be displayed far more beneficially to his country, than they can possibly be in the courtly circles of the Thuilleries: but if his grace must necessarily be confined to the dull round of diplomatic business, at least let some officer be sent, whom the general voice of the army may designate as most like in skill and enterprise to our great national hero. Fatal experience has shewn us, that no effort of such an enemy is to be overlooked. When the flag of the *Guerriere* was struck, we saw in it that disastrous omen which has since been but too sadly verified on the ocean and the lakes. The triumphs of the American navy have inspired even their privateers with remarkable *audacity*. The present papers mention the cruises of the *Peacock*, the *Chasseur*, and the *Mammoth*, all of which were very successful, and all *ventured* on the coasts of England and Ireland! The two latter being American built, outsailed every thing that gave them chase. This is a circumstance requiring *strict at-*

tention on the part of the admiralty. Surely there must be some discoverable and *imitable cause* of a celebrity in sailing, which is so important a point in naval tactics. Mr. Fulton, of Catamaran memory, appears to have employed himself on a naval machine of singular powers. It is described as a steam frigate, and is intended to carry red hot shot of one hundred pounds weight. When we remember how contrary to expectation was the tremendous effect of the batteries of the Dardanelles, we cannot entirely dismiss from our minds all apprehension of the effect of this new machine of Mr. Fulton's."

Before I proceed to inquire into the *justice* of these charges against Mr. Monroe's bill, I cannot refrain from noticing, in a particular manner, one phrase of this article. Mr. Walter (for hire he whom he will to write for him, he is the *author*) calls the bill "this DARING bill of Mr. Monroe's." Mr. Walter is no grammarian, my lord; nor is it necessary that he should be, to qualify him for addressing such people as the well-attired rabble of England, who are his readers. But this is not the thing that I have in view: I want your lordship to mark the word "DARING," as applied to this bill; as if it were a thing which the republic ought not to think of without *our permission*; as if it were like the act of a servant taking up a sword and *challenging his master*; as if it were a trait of *insolence unbearable* in a nation at war with big John Bull to take effectual means to resist his attacks on their shores: as if it were *audacious* in them to provide the means of preventing their cities, towns and villages, from being plundered or burnt. This Mr. Walter, only a few days ago, called Mr. Jefferson "*liar and slave.*" He has a hundred times called

Mr. Madison a *miscreant*, a *traitor*, a *liar*, a *villain*; and has as often insisted, that no peace ought ever to be made with him. He has frequently insisted, that Mr. Madison and his *faction* (the majority of congress) must be *hurled from their seats*. He has called Mr. Jefferson the *old serpent*. In short, it is the next to impossible to think of any vile term or epithet, which this author has not applied to the American President and the majority of that congress, which is the real representation of the American people. And yet he has the cool impudence to speak of this bill, this measure of *defence*, as if it were something *insolent* towards *us*.

The truth is, my lord, we have so long had to deal with East Indians and Portuguese, and Spaniards and Italians, and Germans and Dutchmen and Russians, and Imperialist Frenchmen, that we are quite spoiled for a dealing with the Americans. We have at last arrived at such a pitch, that we regard it as *insolence* in any people even to talk of resisting us. Mr. Walter is in this respect, but the mouth-piece of his readers. We must correct ourselves as to this way of thinking and talking, if the war with America continue; or we shall be exposed to the derision of the whole world.

Now, then, as to Mr. Monroe's measure. Mr. Walter describes it as a *conscription*; says, that it will subject the people to *barbarous humiliation*; says, that it makes the president a *military despot* of the most *sanguinary* character; asks, who is to chain the conscripts and drag them to the headquarters of the military division; calls the raising of this force putting *a collar on the necks of the American citizens*.

These are the charges which Mr. Walter prefers against this grand measure of the republic, and he

number of their crews! We should have thought of all this before we talked of annihilating the American navy in a few weeks. The merchants and underwriters are now petitioning the lords of the admiralty and the prince regent to protect them more effectually against this "*contemptible* American navy," which, it seems, has already destroyed their property to the amount of millions, and some of the ships of which are said to blockade, in some sort, part of our harbours in England and Ireland, and are capturing our ships within the sight of land. These gentlemen should have petitioned against *the war*. So far from that, many of them were eager for the war; and, do they think that they are to enjoy the gratification of seeing the American towns knocked down without paying some little matter for it? That the admiralty are employing a great many ships and sailors in this war our next year's taxes and *loans* will fully convince us; but numerous as their ships and sailors are, they are not, and cannot be, sufficient to cover all the ocean.

The farmers and landholders, and fund holders, are sighing for the repeal of taxes: but how are they justified in this wish, when it is well known that to carry on the war, taxes are absolutely necessary; and when it is also well known, that those persons were, in general, anxious for the war? Some of them want war to prevent their produce from falling in price; others liked peace with France well enough; but, then, they wished "to give the Yankees a *drubbing*." Therefore, if to keep up the price of produce, and to give the Yankees a drubbing, taxes are wanted, with what decency can these persons expect that taxes will be taken off? Do we obtain any thing that we want without paying for it, in some way or other? If we want food,

or raiment, or houses, or pleasure, do we not expect to pay for them? Can we go to see a play or a puppet show without money? Why, then, are we to expect to see the greater pleasure of seeing the Yankees *drubbed* without *paying* for that too? The public seem very impatient to see the drubbing begin. The *Times* and the *Courier* have been endeavouring to entertain them for a long while and until they, as well as the audience, appear exhausted. But is it not reasonable that the public should, in this case, as well as in all others, put down their money *previously* to the drawing up of the curtain? In a year or two perhaps, we shall see the drama commence in good earnest. But, is it not enough to be amused with a little dancing and tumbling on the outside *before* we have paid our money?—"Send! Send away," says the eager editor of the *Times*, "send away a force to *crush* them at once! But not a word does he say about the *taxes* necessary to pay for the sending and keeping up such a force.

Our government is composed of wonderfully clever men; but they are not clever enough to make soldiers walk upon the waters over the Atlantic, nor to enact, at a word, loaves and fishes to sustain them after their arrival. To be able to send that "overwhelming force" of which the *Times* speaks, the government must have *money*; and, as in all other cases, they must have the money *first*. In short, it is unreasonable in the extreme to expect the war in America to be attended with any very signal result, until we have liberally paid two or three years of taxes. The assertion is again made, that the American ships are *manned principally with English, Irish and Scotch*. I find this assertion in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 6th instant. If this

were true, as I hope it is not, what a pleasant and honourable fact this war would have brought to light?—No other than this: that many of our seamen, our “gallant tars,” the “undaunted sons of Neptune,” not only have no dislike to the Americans, but actually have run the risk of being hanged, drawn and quartered, for the sake of fighting in the American service against their own country!

If the world believe these accounts, what must the world think of us? During the long war in which France was engaged, no Frenchmen were ever found in arms against their king and country. Some of them, indeed, embodied themselves under foreign banners to fight, as they pretended, at least, *for* their country, and against those whom they called the usurpers of its government. But, if these accounts be true, our countrymen have *voluntarily* gone into the American service to fight against their country, that country being under the legitimate sway of the glorious and beloved house of Brunswick! the origin of these accounts, so disgraceful to the country, is probably, the reluctance which our naval officers have to confess defeat at the hands of those *yankees*, whom we were so desirous to see *drubbed*. To avoid this painful acknowledgment, it has been asserted, that we have not been beaten by the yankees, but by our own *brave* countrymen.—But, here again, a difficulty arises; for how comes it to pass, that our own brave countrymen have more success on board yankee ships than on board of our own heart of oak? How comes it to pass, that the men on both sides, being precisely of the same race and education, those in the yankee ships should beat those in “the wooden walls of Old England?” It has been observed, that they fight more desperately, knowing that they

fight with a *halter about their necks*. What an aspersion on "the sons of Neptune!" As if the sons of Neptune, the gallant jack tars of Old England wanted a halter round their necks, and the gallows and executioner's knife before their eyes, to make them do more in battle than they are ready to do for the sake of their king and country, and from a sentiment of honour! This is, really, giving a cruel stab to the character of our sailors; but such is the sorry malignity of those who publish these accounts of treasonable practices, that they entirely overlook these obvious inferences, in their anxiety to get rid of the supposition that any thing praise worthy belongs to the character of the enemy.

If these accounts be true, as I hope they are not, why are not the traitors *tried* and executed? Why are they suffered to remain in the American service? Why are they suffered to go on thus, shouting at, boarding, and taking our ships, insulting our gallant officers, and putting our men in irons? Why are they not, I ask again, *tried* and *hanged*? Why are not their warm bowels ripped out and thrown in their traitorous faces? Why are there bodies not cut into quarters, and those quarters placed at the king's disposal?—But, I had forgotten, that before these things can be done, we must *capture* the ships in which they sail! Is there no *other* way of coming at them? It were well if those, whose business it is to enforce the law against state criminals, would fall upon some scheme to reach them. Cannot the parliament, which has been called *omnipotent*, find out some means of coming at them? In short, these accounts are a deep disgrace to the country; and I do hope, that the lords of the admiralty, who published that eloquent paper, stimulating the sailors to fight against the Americans, will

fall speedily upon some means of putting an end to so great a scandal. I have not time, at present, to enter so fully into the subject of the American war as I shall in my next; but to the loose observations that I have made, I cannot refrain from adding a word or two on the rupture of the negotiations at Ghent, which is said to have taken place. Who, in his senses, expected any other result? It was manifest, from the moment that Napoleon was removed from France, that the war with America was destined to become a serious contest. There were all sorts of feelings at work in favour of such a war. There was not a single voice (mine only excepted) raised against it. Was it to be supposed, then, that peace would be the work of a few months? Yet this rupture of the negotiations appears to have excited a good deal of surprise, not wholly divested of a small portion of alarm. It was expected that the yankee commissioners would jump at peace on any terms. There were thousands of persons, and well dressed persons too, who said that the yankees would not hesitate a moment to *depose* Mr. Madison, and send him to some little uninhabited island. About a fortnight ago some rifle soldiers were passing my house, in their way from Sussex to Plymouth, to join their corps, bound to America. A sergeant, who was at a little distance behind the party, stopped at my door and asked for some beer. While the beer was drawing, I observed to him, that *Jonathan* must take care now what he was about. "No," said the sergeant, "I do not think it will come to any head; for we learned the day before yesterday, that *Madison had run away.*" I asked him if they had been informed *whither he had run to.* He replied, that he had run "*out of the country.*" He further told me that we were to

have an army of 50,000 men, for the conquest of America ; and that, if they were not enough, *Russia* had 60,000 men ready to send to our assistance. From this the Americans will judge of the opinions of the people here ; for I dare say, that this sergeant was no more than the mere repeater of what he heard in almost all the public houses, resorted to by politicians of the most numerous class—but the people are not to be blamed for this delusion. They had it given them, in the report of a speech of one of the lords of the admiralty, not long ago, that we were about to undertake the *deposing* of Mr. Madison ; and who can blame them, if they believe that this deposition has taken place ? My friend, the sergeant, on whom I bestowed my benediction, will, however, I am afraid, find, that this work of deposing Mr. Madison will give more trouble than he appeared to expect.

FROM COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER OF SEPTEMBER 24.

American War.—The following account of a battle, and of a *victory*, on our part, gained over the Americans, is, perhaps, the most curious of any that ever was published, even in this enlightened Lancaster-school country. Before I insert it, let me observe, that the scene of action lies *in the heart of Canada*, though, from the accounts that we have had, any one, not armed against the system of deception that prevails here, must have supposed, that there was not a single American remaining in

Canada. The *victory* in question is said to have been gained near the famous falls of Niagara; and we shall now see what *sort* of victory it was, according to the account of the commander himself, and which account will become a subject of remark, after I have inserted it.

[Here he inserts the British official account of the battle of the 25th July, in which they admit a loss of killed 84—wounded 559—missing 193—prisoners 42. Total 878.]

Was I not right, reader, in calling this a curious account? Did you ever before hear, except from the mouths or pens of some of our own commanders, of a *victory* of this *sort* before? It is a fault which I have always to point out in *our* histories of battles, that we never begin as the historians of all other countries do, by stating the *strength* of the armies on both sides. We are left here to guess at the force in the field. We are not told what was even our own strength on the occasion. If we had been furnished with this information, we should have been able to judge pretty correctly of the nature of the combat, and of the merits of the two armies. When we find that there has been a total loss of 878 men, including a vast proportion of *officers*, we must conclude that the “*drubbing*” has been on the *Americans* only; for the army under gen. Drummond did not, in all probability, amount to more than *three or four thousand men*! There appears to have been only *four battalions of regulars engaged*, which would hardly surpass 2000 men. What the militia might have amounted to I cannot tell; but as far as I am able to judge from the account, I should suppose that we have lost, on this occasion, *one man out of every five*; so that this is a sort of *victory* that is very costly, at any rate. But, except in victories of this kind, who-

ever heard before of such numbers of *missing* and *prisoners* on the part of the *victors*? When armies are defeated, they have, generally pretty long lists of *missing* and *prisoners*; but when they gain a victory, and, of course, remain masters of the spot on which the battle has taken place, how odd it is to hear that they have so many people *taken* and *lost*, the latter of whom they can give no account of! And, especially, how odd it is, that so many of these taken and lost persons should be *officers*, and officers of very high rank too! Never, surely, was there before, a *victory* attended with circumstances so much resembling the usual circumstances of a *defeat*. The commander *severely wounded*; the second in command severely wounded, and made *prisoner* into the bargain: the aid-de-camp to the commander made *prisoner*; several colonels and lieutenant colonels wounded; a great number of officers and men *missing* and made *prisoners*. If such be the marks of a *victory* gained over the Americans, I wonder what will be the marks of a *defeat*, if, unhappily, we should chance to experience a defeat? At any rate, taking the matter in the most favourable light, what a *bloody* battle this must have been! To be sure that is a consideration of little weight with the enemies of freedom, who would gladly see half England put to death, if they could thereby have their desire of exterminating freedom in America gratified. But this is not all. The battle has not merely been bloody, but it has afforded a proof of the *determined courage of the American army*, and leads us to believe, that if we persevere, the contest will be *long* as well as bloody; and it is the *length* of the contest that we have to fear.—The malignant wise man, who writes in the Times newspaper, expresses great sorrow

that the "heroes of Toulouse" were not arrived in Canada previous to the late *victory*. But what could they have done *more* than to render the "*success of our arms complete?*" And this, we are told, was the case without their assistance.

The same writer, in the same paper, complains of the sovereign of Holland for sending an ambassador to Mr. Madison, and observes, that, if he had waited a *few months*, he might have been spared the humiliation of sending an embassy to Mr. Madison and his set. Hence it would appear that this wise man gives our fleets and armies but "*a few months*" to conquer America. It was thus that the same sort of men talked in the memorable times of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. But, in those times, America had not a population of two millions; she had no government; the greater part of her sea-ports were in our hands; we had a fourth part of the people for us; and the rest were without money, and almost without clothing and arms. I shall not deny that we may, by the expenditure of *two or three hundred millions of money*, do the Americans a great deal of mischief. I dare say that we shall burn some of their towns, and drive some thousands of women and children back from the coast. But, in the mean while, America will be building and sending out *ships*; she will be gaining experience in the art and practice of war; she will be pushing on her domestic trade and manufactures; she will be harrassing our commerce to death; and *our taxes will be encreasing*, and annual *loans* must still be made. It is *provoking*, to be sure, but it really is so; that we must leave the Americans in the enjoyment of their *real* liberty; in the enjoyment of freedom, which is *no sham*; must be content to see their country the asylum of

all those in Europe who will not brook oppression ; we must be content to see America *an example* to every people, who are impatient under despotism, or or (dreadful alternative !) we must be content *to pay all our present taxes, and to have new ones added to them !* Nay, after having, for several years, made these new sacrifices in the cause of “ *regular government, social order, and our holy religion,* ” it may, possibly, happen, at last, that America will remain unhurt ; that, having been compelled to learn the art of war, she may become more formidable than ever ; and that, in the end, her *fleets*, in the space of ten years, may dispute with ours that trident, which we now claim as our exclusive property. Already do we hear persons, who were so eager for giving the “ yankees a hearty *drubbing* ; ” ask *why* this is not done ? — They are already impatient for the conclusion, before the beginning has well taken place. They ask *why* the heroes of Toulouse were not at the late *victory* ? How unreasonable this is ! Just as if the government could convey them in a balloon ! Besides, were those heroes to have no time for *repose* ? Were they to be set on the moment they had been taken off ? The government, to do it justice, have lost no time. They have sent out men as fast as they could get them ready. But it requires *time* to transport men, and guns, and horses, and oats, and hay, and straw, to America ; to say nothing about bread, and beef, and pork, and butter, and peas, and rice. Nay, we see that they had to send out the timbers for ships to Canada, where, one would have supposed, there was *wood* enough, at any rate. If we were to get possession of New-York I should not be at all surprised to hear that the ministers were sending *fuel* thither for the

cooking of the men's victuals. This is very different from what was seen in Portugal, Spain, and France. We shall find no partisans in America; and especially shall we find nobody to take up arms in our cause. All must go *from this country*. It is a war of enormous expense; and we must expect to pay that expense. If it comes to a close in *seven years*, I shall think that we have very good luck. The troops who are going out now, and who have been held in readiness to go out for so long a time, will hardly be able to pull a trigger before *next June*. By that time the Americans will have half a million of men, and *FREE* men too, in arms, and who is to *subdue* half a million of men, armed for the defence of their freedom and their homes? how did the people of France as long as the sound of freedom cheered their hearts, drive back, hunt, and lash their invaders. And, have the Americans less courage, or less activity, than the French? How silly is it, then, to expect to conquer America in "a few months!"—It is a little strange that the government have published no *extraordinary gazette*, giving an account of the great "*victory*, of which we have been speaking. They are not, in general, backward in doing justice to our winners of victories. But it is useless to say much about it. Time will unfold the truth; and according to all appearance, we shall have *time enough* to learn all about the events, as well as the effects, of the war against the republicans of America. It is strange, that we have no account of the *exact numbers* of the prisoners that we ourselves have made. If any *officers* had been *taken by us*, would they not have been *named*? And if we have taken no officers, while the Americans have taken so many of ours, what manner of *victory* is this.

FROM COBBETT'S REGISTER OF OCTOBER 29, 1814.

American War.—I have, from the first, expressed my apprehensions as to the end of this war. I used the utmost of my endeavours to *prevent* it. While shut up in a prison, out of which, at the end of two long years, I went, with the paying of a thousand pounds TO THE KING, for having had the indiscretion to write about the flogging of English local militiamen, at the town of Ely, in England, and about the presence of *Hanoverian troops* upon that occasion; while so shut up, the greatest object of my efforts was to prevent this ill-fated war, the seeds of which I saw sown, and the maturity of which I saw pushed on by those malignant and foul wretches, the writers of the *Times* and *Courier* newspapers. This was the way in which I employed my days and years of imprisonment—my efforts were all in vain. In vain did I show the falsehood of the statements and the doctrines on which the war whoopers proceeded, in vain did I appeal to the reason, and justice, and even to the *interest* of a people, deluded into a sort of furor against America. At last the war took place, and the disgrace which we suffered *at sea* completed the madness of the nation, who seemed to have no other feeling than that of mortification and revenge. What! should the people be suffered to live? Should they be suffered to exist in the

world, who had defeated and captured a *British frigate*? Should those, who had caused the British flag to be *hauled down*, not be exterminated? Disappointment; astonishment; fury! The nation was mad. "*Rule Britannia*," the constant call of the boasting rabble at places of public resort, was no longer called for with such eagerness, and was heard with less rapture. The heroes in blue and buff carried their heads less lofty. Their voices seemed to become more faint, and their port less majestic. They seemed to feel, as men of honour would, upon such an occasion. In short, we all felt, that a new era had taken place in the naval annals of the world.

Still, however, the dread of the power of Napoleon restrained many from a wish to see us embarked in a war for the conquest of America. But, he was scarcely subdued by the combined efforts of all Europe, when this whole nation cried aloud for war, a war of *punishment*, against the American states. And, it was openly declared in the most popular of our newspapers, that we ought never to sheath the sword, till we had subjugated the states, or, at least, *subverted their form of government*. The pernicious example of the existence of a *republic*, founded on a *revolution*, was openly declared to be inconsistent with the *safety* of our government. It was, besides distinctly alleged, that, *now, now, now*, or *never* was the time to prevent America from ever having a navy. The necessity of destroying her means of having a navy has since been repeatedly urged. It has been stated and restated, that our naval power must soon come to an end unless we now destroy this republic, root and branch. The defeat and capture of our fleet, and the defeat of our army on and near *Lake Champlain*, (of which I shall speak more

particularly hereafter) have not at all softened the language of the public prints. The *Times* newspaper, of the 9th inst. calls it "a lamentable evil to the CIVILIZED WORLD; by which appellation these writers always mean KINGLY GOVERNMENTS. The writer then adds: "Next to the annihilation of "the late military despotism in Europe, the sub- "version of that system of fraud and malignity, "which constitutes the whole policy of the Jeffer- "sonian school, was an event to be devoutly wish- "ed by every man in either hemisphere, who re- "gards rational liberty, or the honourable inter- "course of nations. It was an event, to which we "should have bent, and yet must bend all our ener- "gies. The *American government must be dis- "placed, or it will, sooner or later, plant its poisoned "dagger in the heart of the parent state."* Sooner or later you see! The gentleman looks into *futu- rity*. He does not even hint at any *terms of peace*. He plainly says, that we must *displace the govern- ment of America*; that is to say, *change its form and nature*; subjugate the country, re-colonize it, re-pos- sess it. Now mind, the *opposition* prints do not find fault with this. They do not deprecate such an object of the war.—They surpass even their adversaries in exulting at the burnings and plunderings.—They find fault, that *more* mischief has not been done.

Thus, then, we see what the nation regards as the *object* of the war. I say the *nation*, because the *Morning Chronicle*, which is the organ of the *oppo- sition*, is just as bitter against America, as are the *Times* and the *Courier*.—The truth is, that the only *opposition*, as to the war, will arise out of our *fail- ures*. The opposition will only *blame* the minis- ters for not having burnt *more* ships, plundered *more* towns, and done *more* mischief. There is,

indeed, a sort of dread of the *length* of the war.—People are a little *disappointed*, that Mr. Madison is not *yet* deposed ; that the states have not *yet* separated : that our sons of noble families are not *yet* wanted to go out as governors and captains general to Pennsylvania, New-York, Massachusetts, Virginia, &c. &c. that it will require *another campaign* to bring the deluded Americans *to their senses* ; that (and here is the pinch) the *income tax* will be wanted *another year*, and that *another* loan must be made. But, “ what is *one more* year of expense at the end of 22 years of war ? And then it will give us such *lasting* peace and security.” Thus is fear *hushed* ; and when, in addition, the thought of our defeated and captured frigates come athwart the mind, the *income tax* is forgotten, and vengeance, war, and blood, is the cry.

I now proceed to notice more particularly the events, which have reached our knowledge since the date of my last article upon the subject.—The *plundering of Alexandria* appears to have been the most successful of our enterprises. The American papers give our people great credit for their talent at the emptying of *shops*, and the embarkation of their contents, at which, to do our army and navy [especially the latter] but bare justice, we seem to have been uncommonly adroit. It seems, however, that the squadron, which had the plunder aboard, had but a narrow escape in descending the Chesapeake ; but, plunder there was, and a good deal of it : and there can be but little doubt, that the success and profit of the enterprise will act as great encouragement to future undertakings of a similar description ; the only danger being, that the zeal of our commanders may push them on faster, than a due regard to their safety might otherwise dictate,—In

an attempt against *Baltimore* we failed. That is to say, we met with a *defeat*. Not in the *field*; but that is nothing to the purpose. We marched and sailed against the town with all our forces, by sea and land, and we were *compelled* to retreat without doing any thing against that town. The town is safe; and, if the war end as this expedition has ended, all the world will agree, that America has *defeated* us. We may be sure of this; and, therefore, we must carry on the war, till we have subdued America; or, we must make up our minds to the reputation of having been defeated by that republic. A pretty serious alternative: but it is one which must and will exist, and of this we shall become more and more sensible every day, and particularly if we attend to what foreigners say upon the subject.

The expedition of our troops and fleet against Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot is of a nature so trifling as hardly to be worthy of notice.—That territory is no more important in America, than the isle of Sky is in Great Britain. It is a conquest, and so would the isle of sky be by an American privateer. What a figure does this conquest make in the Gazette! What a grand affair it appears to be! But, did a thousandth part of the people of England ever HEAR of Passamaquoddy or Penobscot before? It is Baltimore, Charleston, Wilmington, Norfolk, Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, that they have heard of. They have been led to believe, that the city of Washington is to America what *London* is to England, or what *Paris* is to France. Nothing can be more fallacious. There are, perhaps, two hundred towns in America, each of which is more populous and rich than Washington was, or than it was likely ever to be. Be-

sides, we did not *keep possession* of Washington, as the Germans and Russians did of Paris. We did not remain there to erect a *new* government.— We only set fire to a few buildings and then *retreated*. If an American privateer were to set fire to a few fishing huts on the coast of Wales, should we look upon it as a very brilliant affair? Yet this Washington enterprise was, by the Morning Chronicle, deemed the most *gallant dash* of the war! In the “demonstration,” as admiral Cochrane calls it, against Baltimore, gen. Ross was killed; and some of our papers call this *foul play*! “The *fellow*,” says one of them, “took aim at the gallant Ross from *behind some brush wood*.” Well, and what then? Do not our troops shoot from *behind* parapets, and walls, and works of all sorts? And do we suppose, that the Americans will not make use of a *bush* when it comes in their way?— If this *crying* tone be to be indulged in, we shall, I fear, cry our eyes out before the war be over. We have sent our bombs, and rockets, and rifles, and all sorts of means of destruction; our writers blame our ministers for not sending the means of knocking down towns fast enough, and shall we abuse poor Jonathan if he avail himself of a bush, and of his skill at hitting a mark? Gen. Ross *burnt* their president’s house, and a yankee *shot* gen. Ross. These are things which naturally occur; and, however, we may lament the death of any officer, we must reflect that an invaded people will shoot at their invaders, unless the former are ready to receive the latter as friends.

Before I proceed to notice the late affair on and near Lake Champlain, there are some remarks to be bestowed on certain *characteristic facts* which have *leaked out*, and on certain paragraphs in our news-

papers. The Americans are accused of *cowardice* for having retreated before inferior numbers and taken shelter in Baltimore. Why was this cowardice? The main object was to defend that great and rich city. The second was to annihilate our army and naval force. To make a long stand in the open country, with raw troops, against disciplined soldiers, was not the way to effect either of these purposes. The main object was effected, and our retreat only, probably, prevented the effecting of the latter. The Times newspaper, a few days ago, remarking on the *cowardice* of the Americans, contrasted with the *bravery* of our army and navy, observed that the cause was, that *they* had no feelings of *patriotism*; that they *cared nothing about their country*. Now, what is the ground of this war?—Why, we complained that the Americans *harboured deserters from our navy*: and they complained that *we forced native Americans into our service*. This fact is notorious to all the world. This fact is recorded in our own official documents. This fact makes a part of unquestionable history. Another fact has just been recorded by this said Times newspaper; namely, that two of our seamen were *hanged*, on board the fleet in the Chesapeake, *for attempting to desert to the enemy*. It is also stated, in the same paper (24th Oct.) that *about 150 of our soldiers deserted* on the retreat from Plattsburg.—Now, let this empty boaster produce instances like these, *on the side of the Americans*, if he can—and if he cannot, let him acknowledge himself to be either a deluded fool or a deluded knave. But has Jonathan shewn no *zeal* for his country? What was that act of self-devotion which induced a man to expose his property to certain, and himself to probable destruction, by shooting at general Ross and

killing his horse under him, in the city of Washington, after the town was in possession of our troops? By what feeling was the man actuated who exposed his life for the sake of killing general Ross; and who must have been almost alone, since he was hidden behind some brushwood? To what are we to impute the capture of 200 young men of the "*best families* in Baltimore," found in the foreground defence of their city? Was greater courage, more desperate devotion to country, ever witnessed than at the battle of Chippewa and at Fort Erie? How comes it, that during the last campaign, we have lost more officers and men, out of twenty thousand employed, than we ever lost in the European war out of one hundred thousand. From what feeling was it that Mr. Madison called, as we are told he has, Mr. *Rufus King* to his counsels, and from what feeling is it that Mr. King has accepted of the call?

The Morning Chronicle, that camelion of this war, now boasts that it foretold *union* against us. It never foretold it. It always *urged* on the war. It called, and it was the first to call the burnings of Washington *a most gallant dash*,—However, it is now clear that we have *completely united* the whole country. The *bombarding of Stonington* in Massachusetts, and the *plundering of Alexandria*, in Virginia, have done what all the workings of good sense and public spirit were not able to effect. Mr. Rufus King, whom we regarded as the rival and the implacable enemy of Mr. Madison, has taken a post *under him* for the defence of his country; and we shall now see that, amongst those whom we thought our friends, we shall find the most resolute enemies. Stonington and Alexandria will be constantly before every American's eyes. I always was opposed to

the war, and to this *mode* of warfare especially. I knew it would produce that which it has produced. I knew it would render the breach too wide ever to be healed again. I knew that it would produce either the total subjugation of America, which I thought impossible, or our final defeat in the eyes of the world, with the ulterior consequence of seeing America a most formidable naval power, which the recent events on the borders of Canada seem but too manifestly to portend. It is quite surprising to what an extent this nation has been, and still is deluded, with regard to America, and to the nature and effect of this war. It is only fifteen days ago that the Courier newspaper contained the following paragraph :

“ There were reports last night of our having attacked and taken New London, and destroyed the city of Baltimore. Both these events *are probable*, but there are no arrivals from America later than the last despatches from Admiral Cochrane, dated on the 3d of last month. But as the wind has been fair for some days we hourly expect a fresh arrival. It must bring news of the greatest importance—intelligence from Canada—another attack upon Fort Erie—another conflict with gen. Brown—perhaps a battle with the American gen. Izard—the further operations of admiral Cochrane and general Ross—the result of the expedition under general Sherbroke—the operations of the Creek Indians who had already made their appearance upon the frontiers of South Carolina—and “ last not least,” the effect of our late attack upon *the minds of the American people*—the steps taken by Mr. Madison, *if he yet remains president, and the measures adopted by these states that were in a ferment against the government*, even before the disaster, and were

not indisposed to a separation from the other states. No arrival from America was ever expected with more impatience."

Well, the arrival has taken place. The impatiently expected arrival has taken place. New London has not been attacked. The attack on Baltimore has *failed*. General Ross is *killed*. Admiral Cochrane has arrived at Halifax for the winter, with the plunder of Alexandria. The effect upon the minds of the American people has been such as to unite even Mr. King with Mr. Madison, who "*yet remains* president."—No new attack has been made on Fort Erie, but the army of general Izard at Plattsburg *has* been attacked by our commander in chief, with the "Wellington heroes" under him, with the "conquerors of France" under him, while the American fleet was attacked by ours; and not only have both attacks *failed*, but we have experienced a more complete defeat than, as far as I can recollect, we ever before experienced, the notable affair of the *Helder* only excepted. *Thinking* Johnny Bull! You, who were so eager to give the yankees *a drubbing*—you, who were so full of fight that nothing but another war would appease you—Pray can you tell me how it is that our ministers, who have given us such exact accounts about the "gallant dashes" at Washington and Alexandria, and who have published such loads of despatches and proclamations about the conquest of the Penobscot territory, not equal in population to the parish of St. Martins in the Fields; can you tell me how it has happened that this ministry has not *received*, or at least have not *published*, the account of the land and water battles at Plattsburgh and on Lake Champlain, though we have sir George Prevost's general order, issued after the battle, and

though we have numerous extracts from Canada papers, dated many days later than the date of the order ! Cannot you tell me this, *thinking* Johnny Bull ! you who, when you heard of the capture of Washington City, were for sending out a *viceroi* to the 'American states ? You, who called the Americans *cowardly dogs*, and hailed the prospect of a speedy release from the *income tax*, and the payment of the national debt by the sale of lands, and by taxes raised in America ? Well, then, in waiting *patiently* for this official account, we must content ourselves with what the newspapers tell us they have extracted from the papers of Canada.— Letters extracted from the American papers make our loss dreadful indeed. General Macomb, the American commander, is represented to have written to his father, at New-York, telling him that he had killed or taken 3000 of our army, and that he expected to destroy *one half* of it. Our newspapers said that this was *false*. They also said that it was *false* that we had any thing like a frigate on Lake Champlain, though it now appears that we had a ship actually mounting 32 guns, and that the largest of the American vessels was rated 28 guns, and carried, as we say, 30 guns. But let us take, for the *present*, the account of the Canada papers, and look with impatience, but with becoming *humility*, to his majesty's ministers for further information. Thus, then, speak the Canadian printers ; thus speak the bitterest enemies of America :

“ *Montreal September 15.*

“ You have herewith a copy of the general order of the 13th instant to understand which requires more than being able to read it. There never was, perhaps, such a composition ; for, without knowing the result, one might be led to think we had

gained a victory. Report says that our hero, on passing some of the troops on the road, was *hissed* by them; and farther, and which I believe to be true, that when the order was given for retreating, general Power rode up to the commander in chief, and begged the order for retreating might be recalled, as gen. Brisbane was about storming the fort, and would have possession of it in a few minutes—the reply, it is said, was—“ My orders must be obeyed,” and then a general retreat took place. I do not know with any certainty, having heard no one speak on the subject, but it will not surprise me if we have lost, one way and another, in this disgraceful affair, not less than 800 men. It was a fair battle between the fleets: the forts did not play on the *Confiance* and *Linnet*, as has been stated.—Capt. Pring, in the *Linnet*, though aground, is said to have fought his vessel for a considerable time after the *Confiance* had struck.”

“ *Quebec, September 16.*

“ Stories become blacker and blacker, respecting our disgrace and misfortunes at Plattsburg. Liet. Drew, of the *Linnet*, is come in here, being paroled for fourteen days, states the loss of the fleet to have been in a great measure owing to the land forces not storming the American fort; there were only 1,400 men in it, under gen. Macomb, who informed captain Pring, of the *Linnet*, that every thing was prepared to surrender on the advance of the British army. Report says, that gen. Robinson is under arrest—that generals Brisbane and Power had tendered their swords to sir G. Prevost—and, that col. Williams, of the 13th, had declared he would never draw his sword again, while under the command of sir George. It is said Sir George is gone to Kingston.”

Montreal, Sept. 17.

“ My last letter to you was of date the 14th inst. when I had the mortification to inform you of our fleet on Lake Champlain being entirely defeated and taken by the enemy at Plattsburg, about 70 miles from this place, and when we had an army of 14 or 15,000 regular and brave troops who only wished to be allowed to storm the enemy’s fort, and which every body says would easily have been accomplished, had any other person had the command than sir G. Prevost ; we have suffered more disgrace from the incapacity of this man than we will retrieve for months to come, let our exertions be ever so great.—There were six of our officers killed on board of our vessels, and 20 are made prisoners; and besides we must have lost near 100 brave men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. It will not surprise me if the expedition has cost about 500,000*l*. Report now says that sir G. Prevost is going up to Kingston, to attack Sackett’s Harbour ; but I am sure he will not be a welcome visitor in the Upper Province. The army retreated most precipitately, and are in general at the posts they occupied before the expedition took place, with the loss of about 150 deserters on the retreat, besides a vast loss in provisions and munitions of war. The Wellingtonian soldiers say that the hunters and the hounds are capital, but that the huntsman and the whipper-in are too—fools—meaning, I consider, sir G. Prevost and his adjutant-general, major E. Baynes.

We have inserted the general order relating to the proceedings of the army and flotilla at Plattsburg. Candour must compel every one to confess, that the result of the late operations has fallen short of even “ moderate expectations.” The battle lasted an hour and a half. The force of each squadron, we

are informed, stands thus ;—British, one ship, mounting in all 32 guns ; one brig, in all 20 guns ; two sloops of 70 tons, each 10 guns—and ten gun boats. American, one ship, rated 28 guns, carrying 30 ; one brig, 24 ; one strong schooner, 18 ; three sloops, each 10 guns—and twenty-four gun boats. The crews, tonnage, and weight of metal, are estimated at one-fourth superior on the side of the Americans ; and we have no reason to doubt our information. We have always considered offensive warfare as the best mode of securing peace : and recent humiliation has not changed our tone. We may be called to defend points which have hitherto not been thought of ; and consequently the late retreat may not have been ill advised : the fort at Plattsburg should, however, have been stormed.—That part of the labour would have cost less blood and embarrassment than was sustained in the retreat ; a retreat that will tend to rouse the energies of the enemy. We might have taken 2000 prisoners, a fine train of artillery, and immense stores.

We are not military men, but we call on “every experienced officer” to support or contradict us. If we are wrong, we shall take a pride in confessing our ignorance. The scientific brave generals, officers, and soldiers of the duke of Wellington’s army, and the others who have before fought in our cause in the Canadas, did every thing which depended on them to support the noble efforts of their brothers on the water. That distinguished officer, general Robinson, who has been twice wounded this year on the other continent, with part of his gallant brigade, had braved all danger in an assault. Some of the pickets of the fort were torn away, and a few minutes more would have given up the fortification with an immense train of artillery, into our hands,

and every American must have fallen or been made prisoner. It was thought necessary to check the ardour of the troops, and we must now instantly redouble our energies to obtain command of the lake, or *with humility await our future destiny.*”

Thus, then, according to our own accounts, the Americans had but 1,500 regulars and 6,000 militia, wherewith to make face against 15,000 British troops, commanded by four major generals and sir George Prevost, a general of long experience and of great reputation.—On the Lake we say, that the Americans had a *fourth* more than we. *Suppose* they had! I do not admit the fact; but *suppose* they had. A *fourth*! how long is it since we thought a *fourth* too much? Every one knows, that sir Robert Calder was disgraced for not pursuing *double* his force. We are become very *nice calculators* of force. We shall soon hear, I suppose, that we ought always to keep aloof, unless we can count the guns, and know that we have a superiority.—Fifteen thousand men, seven of them from the army of “the conqueror of France!” And these drew off from the presence of 7,500 Yankees, to whom they were about to give a good *drubbing*! Why, it will make such a noise in the world! It will make such a buz; it will astound “*honest John Bull*,” who was, only the last market day, charging his glass and bragging about sending out a viceroy.—The *whole fleet*! What, *all*! Our *little ones* and *all*! *All* at one fell swoop! It will make Johnny Bull scratch his noddle in search of brains. The chuckling of honest John at the burning of Washington, the plundering of Alexandria, and bombarding of Stonington, will be changed into *grumbling*, I am afraid, But come Johnny, you must not *grumble*. You were for the war. It is

your own war. The ministers are not to blame. You insisted upon chastising and humbling the Americans. You would have Mr. Madison *deposed*. You said he had *sided with Napoleon*. You said what was *false*, Johnny ; but that's no matter. You called upon the ministers to *depose* him. This I will always say, and can at any time *prove* against you.—The *consequences* of this victory of the Americans must be very important. Sir George Prevost is blamed, and, indeed, abused, while the officers of the fleet, the *defeated* and *captured* fleet, are complimented to the skies. When will this folly cease ? When shall we cease to be so basely unjust ? What would have been said of sir George if he had had his army blown into the air, or cut to pieces ? If he and *all* his army had been captured, what would have been said of *him* and of that army ? Yet this has happened to the fleet, and the fleet are *complimented* ! While he, who has saved a great part of his army, notwithstanding the defeat of the fleet, is censured and *abused* ; is called a *fool*, and almost a *coward* ! Sir George Prevost is neither fool nor coward. He is a man of great merit, is of long standing in the service, has served with great success ; and he has shown great ability in being able, with so small a force as he has hitherto had, to preserve a country generally inhabited by a people by no means zealous in their own defence, or rather, that of their territory. Let any one look at the situation of Lake Champlain. It extends in length 150 miles, perhaps, running above the state of Vermont, and entering our province of Lower Canada in line pointing towards Quebec. It was very desirable to drive the Americans from the command of this Lake, which may be called their high road to Montreal and Quebec. It is the great

channel for their army, their provisions, their guns, to pass along; and, complete the sole masters of this Lake, it is not easy to conceive how they are to be kept from Quebec without a *very large army from England*. If the Americans had been defeated *upon the Lake*, or had been compelled *to retire to the Vermont end of it*, then to have driven back their army also, would have been an object of vast importance; nor would great loss in the attack, on our part, have been an *irretrievable* loss, or been followed by any extremely great danger. But when our fleet was not only defeated but actually captured, and gone off to double the force of the Americans, even the *certain* defeat of their army could have led to no beneficial result. We must still have abandoned Plattsburg; the fleet of the enemy would have speedily brought another army to any point that they wished, and would have placed that army 50 or 60 miles *nearer Quebec* than our army would have been. But, if, by any chance, we had been defeated by *land* after the defeat on the water, the loss of *all Canada* would, and must have been the consequence, if the Americans had chosen to conquer it, which I dare say they would. Therefore, it appears to me, that sir George Prevost acted the only part which a sensible man, under such circumstances, could have, for one moment, thought of. He *risked every thing* in the attack, and if he succeeded, he *gained nothing worth having*. The loss of *half* his army, which was the case of the storming of Fort Erie, would have exposed him, even in case of success to great peril. The Americans could have immediately poured an army (by means of their fleet) more numerous than his into Lower Canada; they could have poured in, all the winter, militia and volunteers, from the populous

and brave republican state of Vermont, while our governor had, and could have, no hopes of receiving reinforcements *till the middle of next summer*. For supposing us to have *spare* troops at Halifax, they could hardly sail thence before the middle of October, and before they might reach Quebec, the ice in the St. Lawrence might have scuttled or foundered their vessels. The St. Lawrence, our only channel to Canada from England or from Halifax, is full of mountains of ice till the month of June. I have seen a large mountain of ice off the mouth of that immense river on the 15th of June. I believe, that no vessels of any considerable size ever attempt the navigation of that river much before June. In what a situation, then, would our governor have been placed if he had met with any serious loss in the storming of the Fort at Plattsburg? And yet he is censured and abused for retreating, after the total capture of our co-operating fleet, while the officers of that fleet *are praised to the skies*.

About three weeks ago, just after we heard of the burnings of Washington City, I met Sir George Prevost's waggon, between Portsmouth and Hayant. The carter was whistling along by the side of some nice fat horses. I could not help observing to my son how much happier this fellow was than his master, who had to govern Canadians and fight Americans. It is easy to talk about the "*heroes of Toulouse*," forming part of his army. "The heroes of Toulouse" are said to have remonstrated against the retreat. They are said to have expressed a desire to storm the fort. Sir George Prevost would, I dare say, have been of the same mind, if he had had reason to suppose, that one half of the people within, were, as the people of Toulouse were, ready to join

him. But he well knew the contrary. He knew, that he had to get into the fort through a river of blood. He had just seen the fate of our fleet ; and he knew, as “ the heroes of Toulouse ” might have known, that the men in the fort were of the same stamp as those upon the water. We now find from a detailed statement in the American papers, coming from authority, and accompanied by an account of killed and wounded in the naval battle on the lake, that our fleet had 93 guns and 1,050 men, while that of America had but 86 guns and 820 men ; our fleet was all taken but the gun boats, carrying 16 guns amongst them all. And yet the naval people are *praised*, while Sir George Prevost is *censured*. Whence arises this injustice ? Whence this security of the navy from all censure, and even from all criticism ? Do we feel that to censure any part of it is to discover to the world that it is not always infallible ? Do we suppose, that in discovering our fears of its inferiority, in point of quality, to that of America, we shall make the world perceive the lamentable fact ? Are we fools enough to hope that the history of this battle can be hidden from France and the rest of Europe ? Why, then, this injustice ? Why not blame the naval part of the forces, if blame must fall somewhere ? I see no necessity for its falling *any where*, for my part. We had 84 men killed and 110 wounded, which shews that there was some fighting. We had double the number killed and wounded that Jonathan had, which shews that Jonathan was the more able bodied and active of the two. A letter was, a little while ago, published as from one of our officers in the Chesapeake Bay, saying, that Jonathan must now *look pretty sharply about him*. It appears from the result of this battle, that Jonathan *does* look pretty sharply about

him. Now, then, let us hear what effect this event has had upon the Times newspaper, which only a few weeks ago, insisted on it, that the American government must be displaced, that the Americans were cowards, that they cared nothing about their country, and that the states would soon divide, and come over, one at a time, to the *parent* country. Now let us hear what this torch-bearer of the war, this trumpet of fire and sword, provoker to every act of violence and cruelty. Let us hear what he now has to say ; he, who has, for three years past, been urging the government on to this disastrous contest. "Halifax papers to the 6th instant, New-York to the 22d ult. and Boston to the 25th, have been received. There is no dissembling that the popular outcry in Canada against sir George Prevost's conduct, on occasion of the late operations against Plattsburg, is very general and very loud. We cannot pretend to determine on the talents of this officer, or on the wisdom of his plans ; but we recur to the suggestions which we made at a very early period of the campaign, and regret exceedingly that one of our most experienced generals from Spain was not sent at once, flushed with victory from the fields of Toulouse, *to the heart of the United States*. Was it beneath the dignity of lord Hill or even of the duke of Wellington ? Fatal prejudice ! To *despise*, to *irritate*, and, after all, *not to subdue our adversaries*, is the worst and weakest of all policy. Now we have reduced ourselves to this dilemma of being obliged to carry our point by main force, or to retire from the contest *ten times worse than we began it*, with the mere postponement of an abstract question, which has no reference to our present state of peace, *with a fund of the bitterest animosity laid*

“ *up against us in future, with our flag disgraced*
 “ *on the ocean and on the lakes, and with the laurels*
 “ *withered at Plattsburg, which were so hardly but*
 “ *so gloriously earned in Portugal, and Spain, and*
 “ *France.—The spirit of the British nation cannot*
 “ *stoop to the latter alternative ; and therefore, at*
 “ *whatever risk, or whatever expense, we must*
 “ *embrace the former.* The invaluable year 1814,
 “ when the treachery of America was fresh in the
 “ minds of the European powers, is past.—Already
 “ do they begin to relax in their deep and merited
 “ contempt of the servile hypocrite Madison.—Al-
 “ ready do they turn a compassionating look on the
 “ smoking rafters of the would-be capital. Pre-
 “ sently, perhaps, the Russian cabinet may forget
 “ that the Empress Catharine, to her dying day,
 “ treated the Americans as rebels to their legal sov-
 “ ereign ; or the Spanish court, while it is endeav-
 “ ouring to rivet its yoke on Buenos Ayres, may
 “ join with the philosophers of Virginia, in con-
 “ tending for the liberty of the seas. Such, and
 “ still greater political inconsistencies we have be-
 “ fore now witnessed. *Therefore let time be taken*
 “ *by the forelock ; let not another campaign be wast-*
 “ *ed in diversions and demonstrations ; let not anoth-*
 “ *er autumnal sun go down in DISGRACE TO THE*
 “ *BRITISH ARMS.* Commodore Macdonough’s
 “ laconic note savours a little of *affectation* : but we
 “ are sorry he has so favourable an opportunity for
 “ displaying the brevity of his style to advantage.—
 “ Gen. Macomb’s orders, however, are *sufficiently*
 “ *lengthy* ; and, unfortunately, he also has some
 “ unpleasant information to give us. He states that
 “ 4,000 British veterans have been foiled by 1,500
 “ American regulars and some few militia, the
 “ whole not exceeding 2,500 men. If he is correct

“in these estimates, it is surely high time that we should either *give up teaching the Americans war*, “or send them some better instructors.” The *former* is the *best*, be assured ! Why should commodore Macdonough be charged with *affectation*, because he writes a short letter ? *He* has no sons or cousins, or patron’s sons or cousins, or bastards, to recommend for the receipts of presents or pensions. But I have, at present, no room for further comment on this article. I will resume the subject in my next.

FROM COBBETTS WEEKLY REGISTER, OF OCTOBER 29, 1814:

Retaliation.—A great deal has lately been said in the French, in the American, and in our own newspapers, about the *destructive* mode of warfare now waging in Canada, and in the United States. The two former have employed the most violent invectives against our government, on account of the burning of Washington, and other places, while we have set up, as a justification of these rigorous measures, the plea of *retaliation*—that is to say, have alleged that the burning and ransacking of defenceless towns, and the carrying away of private property from our provinces in Canada, *began* with the Americans; and that what our troops have since done, what houses they have set fire to, what property they have taken away, and what numbers of innocent people they have ruined, instead of being either wanton, barbarous, or unjust, was a fair retaliation for the injuries they have done us, and per-

fectly consistent with the established laws of nations. If the practice of shedding human blood in battle is at all justifiable, I do not see why one nation has a right more than another, of deviating from the common and prescribed rules of carrying on this work of destruction. I cannot admit, because one people, who call themselves *civilized*, should, in order to get the better of their neighbours, take it into their head to copy the practises of *savages* and *barbarians*, that the others have not an equal right to adopt the same practices. The one having, in a moment of frenzy, employed an instrument to cut his neighbour's throat, *different* from that which, in *cold blood*, he had agreed to use in the performance of this *humane* act, it seems to be only fair play that his opponent should satiate his thirst for human gore in a way, at least, as horrible and savage as his neighbour. Were the party who had been provoked to seek his revenge in a still more terrible manner, perhaps something might even then be offered in his vindication. At all events, if the Americans were really guilty, *in the first instance*, of the wanton and dreadful outrages of which we accuse them ; if they set the example of devastation and barbarity, of which we so loudly complain, and under which we shelter ourselves for the commission of similar outrages, I am quite satisfied that they have suffered nothing more than they deserved, and that the French people, in place of assimilating us to Attila and his Huns, or Robespierre and his bravadoes, ought, in justice, to draw the comparison between these inhuman monsters and the Americans themselves.

But there is a circumstance which, it is necessary should be attended to in determining this important question, namely, whether the acts and deeds of the Americans, which serve as a plea for the

dreadful revenge we have taken, were unauthorised, or afterwards sanctioned, *by the American government*. If it appeared that these cruelties were committed, in consequence of *an order* from the secretary of war, or any other person holding a responsible situation in the government, then there would be no room for doubt; the question would be decided *against* the Americans, and Great Britain stand acquitted in the eyes of the universe. If, however, it should turn out, that neither Mr. Madison, nor any individual connected with his government, directly or indirectly, issued such an order, candour will compel us to acknowledge, that we have been rather rash in the severe censures we have pronounced upon the American government.—But if, upon further enquiry, we find, that every thing has been done by that government which prudence could dictate, or which we ourselves could devise, to *soften* the rigours of the war; If it should appear, that the American president, anticipating the dreadful evils consequent on a state of hostility, adopted *precautionary* measures, in order to *ameliorate* the condition of the invaders as well as the invaded; if we should discover, that where any thing contrary to the usages of war, any of those violences inseparable from a state of warfare, occurred, the individuals engaged in these, or who may have exercised any unnecessary severity, were brought to trial, or punished for the impropriety of their conduct. If, I say, such should appear to have been the way in which the American government have acted in such cases, it will be impossible to condemn Mr. Madison upon just grounds, or to clear us of those charges of cruelty, barbarity, and wanton precipitancy, which our neighbours have so lavishly brought against us. The Courier, and all our hireling tribe of journals,

following its example, have stated, that “from the
 “first invasion of Upper Canada by the American
 “forces under brigadier general Hull, they mani-
 “fested a disposition of marking out, as objects of
 “peculiar resentment, all loyal subjects of his ma-
 “jesty, and dooming their property to plunder and
 “conflagration.” That the Americans *invaded* Up-
 per Canada after war had broken out between the
 two countries, is a fact we cannot doubt; but that
 they should behave in the manner here pointed out;
 that they should shew *peculiar resentment* towards
 some of the inhabitants merely because they were
loyal subjects, and doom their property to destruc-
 tion, for no other reason than that they were attach-
 ed to their lawful sovereign, is what no reasonable
 person will believe, who knows any of the respect
 the American ministers have always shewn to the
 government of other states, and the extraordinary
 devotion of the people to their own political insti-
 tutions. The charge indeed has been held so ab-
 surd by the Americans, that they have never deign-
 ed to notice it, although they have uniformly met
 all general and undefined accusations with a digni-
 fied denial, and an explicit call upon their accusers
 to embody their charges in some tangible shape.

Finding that this manly way of silencing calumny
 had its proper effect, our corrupt press then pretend-
 ed to discover, in certain acts of the American army
 a sufficient ground not only on which to rest their
 former accusations, but to warrant the adoption of
 these destructive measures that have lately attended
 our naval and military operations. It was said, that
 the proceedings of the Americans at the village of
 Newark, in Upper Canada, were marked with acts
 of the greatest atrocity, such as burning and de-
 stroying the farm-houses, and other buildings, of the

peaceable inhabitants. " It will hardly be credited," said the servile writer of the *Courier*, " that, in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the troops of a nation calling itself civilized and christian, had wantonly, and *without the shadow of a pretext*, forced 500 helpless women and children, to quit their dwellings, and to be the mournful spectators of the conflagration and total destruction of all that belonged to them." When this writer affected, in this hypocritical manner, to lament the success he has so pathetically described, he took special care not to inform his readers, that the village of Newark was situated so close to Fort George, that it was scarcely possible to carry on military operations at that place, either of a defensive or offensive nature, without destroying many of the surrounding buildings. Accordingly, when it was said, that the American officer commanding at Fort George had exceeded the bounds of propriety, he justified himself on the ground, that the measures he had taken were essentially necessary to the military plans he had adopted. It is plain, from an inquiry having been ordered by the American government into this officer's conduct, that it gave no authority to act rigorously towards the inhabitants of our states. But what establishes this beyond all controversy is, that on this very occasion, the American minister openly and distinctly disavowed all intentions of carrying on war contrary to the established practice of civilized nations. Supposing, therefore, what does not even appear to be the case, that the American officer had, in this instance, been guilty of some violence, or had even done all the mischief of which he is accused, this would not afford a ground on which to blame the government, when it cannot be shewn that it sanctioned his acts

either by previous orders or a subsequent approval. Aware of the conclusive nature of this fact, the Courier *now* attempts to shelter itself under the fallacious pretence, that the destruction of the houses at Newark "could in no degree assist the American operations," and that, when Mr. Monroe made his statement, "he *knew* it to be *totally false*."

I leave it to the reader to judge, whether the editor of the Courier, or the American secretary of state is entitled to the greatest credit, or which of them is the most likely to be possessed of correct information on the subject. Could I suppose that the preference would be given to the former, I would still maintain that the bare *knowledge* of these outrages having been committed, would prove nothing. It must be distinctly shewn that they were authorized by the government, before they can be held as warranting the steps we have taken. As this is not even pretended by the Courier, it must continue an established fact, that the American government was not the *first* aggressor, and consequently, that we cannot plead their example in justification of our conduct. It has been said, that the burning of Long Point completely implicates the American government. But it is only necessary, as in the last instance, to produce the evidence of their having *sanctioned* the deed, to admit the conclusion drawn from it. The American government has repeatedly declared, that this act was totally unauthorized; and to shew their entire disapprobation of it, they delivered up the officer, under whose orders it was performed, to be tried by the laws of his country. "But (asks the Courier) what was the *result*? This is *studiously concealed*."—Supposing the officer *acquitted* of the charge, what would the Courier say to this? Would he have the impudence

to assert, that the government ought to be held culpable, and the people visited with the most dreadful of all calamities, because the tribunals established by law had not considered the evidence sufficient to convict the accused. Of what consequence is it to our government, or how far is it held implicated in the issue of a court martial, whether the party tried be found innocent or guilty ? Have not ministers done their duty, when they deliver up the accused to be tried by his proper judges ? Who ever thinks of connecting them, after this step, with the judgment that may be pronounced ? Would the Courier writer wish us to believe that ministers do influence the decisions of the judges ? Does he mean to insinuate, that juries are not beyond the influence of corruption ? If he does not : if, as he always pretends, he entertains a high opinion of the integrity of our judges, and a reverence for the trial by jury ; if he considers it a direct violation of the constitution to interfere with their verdicts ; upon what principle is it that the American government should be blamed, and the people *punished* for shewing the same respect for the decisions of their judges, and the same deference for the verdicts of their juries ? How can we censure or punish the Americans upon these grounds, without censuring and punishing the government and the people of this country also ? Let the Courier, or his admirers, answer these questions, if they can.

Another ground of retaliation, urged by corruption against the American government, was the burning of St. David's. This, it appears, was done by a *straggling* party of soldiers, who, finding themselves freed from all restraint, conceived they had a right to plunder and destroy every thing that came in their way belonging to the enemy. Have we not

heard of thousands of such parties in the recent war on the continent? And has not every newspaper in Europe dwelt with indignation on the atrocities committed by loose bands of soldiers belonging to all the armies of the belligerents? But who ever pretended that any of the governments, or any of the nations to which these insulated parties of marauders belonged, should be so far held responsible for their acts, as to be placed beyond the protection of the law of nations, and to be made to suffer for crimes which they could neither foresee nor prevent? It was enough that the guilty were made to suffer. In ordering this, the nation to whom they belonged did all that was incumbent on them to do, and all that could reasonably be required by the injured parties. The American government acted precisely in the same way. The officer who had the charge of the party that burned St. David's was *dismissed* from the service "*without a trial*, for not preventing it." I think this was an arbitrary stretch of power. No man ought to be punished without a trial, great and however palpable his crime. To admit a contrary practice is opening a door that may lead to great abuses, and I am sorry to find the fact admitted by an American secretary of state. But aggravated as this officer's case was by this breach of law and justice, the Courier writer would have it believed, that it was not half severe enough. ("Was that an adequate punishment," he asks, "for such an unprovoked enormity?") Thanks to the enlightened minds of those who framed the American code of laws, that it was considered an adequate punishment. To judge from the sanguinary disposition of this corruptionist, it appears that nothing would have satisfied him short of burning the wretch alive; and because some such punishment as this was not

inflicted, he now pretends that Madison's government ought to be implicated in the affair of St. David's and that a circumstance so manifestly uncontrollable, and so clearly unauthorized by any proper authority, is sufficient to countenance the plea we have set up in justification of the dreadful suffering we have inflicted on the American people! If we were to form our opinions of the Americans, upon what this prostituted writer tells us, we could not fail to consider them the most barbarous, the most immoral, and the most uncultivated race of men existing on the face of the earth: yet with all their ignorance, and all their savage propensities, we do not perceive that their rulers have been so stupidly precipitate as either to *proclaim* the inhabitants of countries they invaded *beyond* the protection of the law, or to treat them as if they had been their own subjects, in open rebellion against the state. The cases already alluded to evidently do not warrant the conclusions drawn by the Courier, unfavourable to the humanity of the Americans; and if we are disposed to give a candid hearing to what they themselves have published in their own defence, we shall soon be convinced, that they are neither barbarous nor inhuman; that they are as well acquainted with the science of politics, and entertain as great a respect for the established laws of nations, and the rights of particular states, as the most civilized and christian people in Europe. It appears, indeed that their superior acquirements, combined with an ardent attachment to liberty, is the cause of great hatred and rancour constantly displayed, in our newspapers, against all their institutions. We envy the Americans because they *excel* us, and from envy proceeds enmity.—Nor do the recent triumphs which they have obtained over our

fleets and armies, and the imposing attitude they have in consequence assumed, appear in every degree to lessen the deep rooted malice entertained against them by a great majority in this country. Disaster seems to have no other effect than to confirm popular prejudices : the public have no wish to be undeceived, and the man that dares attempt to tell them the truth is sure to be treated with contempt, and to be looked upon as a suspected person, who, like the nation whose rights he defends, ought to be punished for his laudable efforts. With such dispositions, it is no way surprising that the conductors of our vile press find admirers. They flatter their passions, they feed their appetite for lies they nourish their hatred, and they rekindle their fury, whenever circumstances occur to reconcile them to the former objects of their hate. From this dreadful but no less faithful picture of the present state of society, one would be almost compelled to conclude, that man was naturally a savage animal. It is not, however, from the corruption of his nature that these evils spring ; they are occasioned by corrupt institutions, by perverted systems of education, by inexorable laws that interested cheats have every where promulgated, and that can never be overcome until mankind return to reason, the only sure guide to virtue, to peace, and to happiness.

FROM COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER, OF NOV. 26, 1814.

AMERICAN WAR.

Negotiations at Ghent—Measures of the American Congress—Battle near Fort Erie—Lake Onta-

rio—Despatches about the Lake Champlain Battles—British attack on Fort Mobile.—The negotiations at Ghent, though kept a secret from Johnny Bull, have reached him, as most other disclosures do, through the tell tale press of America. Oh! that republic and her Press! How many things the world knows through them! Is there no way of reducing *them* to silence? Take it in hand, good people, and see if there be no means of accomplishing it. These negotiations show, that JONATHAN, poor despised JONATHAN, is not much less smart in the cabinet than he is in the field. Certainly nothing was ever better managed than this negotiation, on the part of JONATHAN. He pricked our brains, and then would do nothing, until he heard what the people of America should say. The ground of Messrs. Bayard, Gallatin, &c. was very reasonable; for how could they be expected to have instructions, relating to matters *never before matters of dispute*? The substance of the disclosure is this: we asked *as a preliminary*, that the Republicans should give up part of their territory, including those very lakes, and their own borders of those Lakes whereon they have defeated us, and which are their only secure barrier against us and our Indian allies. The President, of course, lost no time in laying these papers before the Congress, who are said to have heard them with unanimous indignation; and the *Times* newspaper tells us, that “these papers have been made the means of *uniting against us the whole American people.*” Thou great ass, they were united against us before. There were only a handful of “*Serene Highnesses*” and “*Cossacks*” in Massachusetts, the acquaintance of Mr. Henry, who were not united against us. This, I suppose, is the shift that you resort to in order to cover your dis-

grace, in having to announce that Mr. Madison is "yet" president, and that he is not even *impeached*."

There is one passage in the last despatch of Mr. Monroe, worthy of great attention. He tells the Plenipotentiaries, that, "there is much reason to presume, that Great Britain has *now* OTHER OBJECTS than those, for which she has *hitherto* professed to contend." Probably he built this presumption on the language of our *public prints*, or on the report of a *speech in Parliament*, attributed by those newspapers to sir *Joseph Yorke*, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in which report the reporters made sir *Joseph* say, that we had Mr. Madison to DEPOSE before we could lay down our arms. This report was published some time in *May* or *June*; and in *August* Mr. Monroe's despatch was written. However, be the ground of presumption what it would, Mr. Madison does not seem to have changed his tone on account of it; and there can be no doubt that the people must have been greatly inflamed by such an impudent declaration. This shews what mischief newspapers can do. The war is, in great part the war of the *Times* and the *Courier*. Let them, therefore, weep over the fate of our fleets and armies in Canada, and at Mobile. *The measures of the American Congress* seem to be of a very bold character, and well calculated for a war of long continuation. The President has not been afraid to lay bare all the wants of the government, and to appeal to the sense and patriotism of the people. From every thing that I can discover, the *noblesse* of Massachusetts will not be able to prevent, or even impede, any of these measures. JOHNNY BULL is, in last Saturday's Gazette, treated to an account of the late battle near Fort Erie, from which JONATHAN sallied

out upon Gen. Drummond's army. According to this account, our loss was as follow :

KILLED.

Captains	1
Lieutenants	2
Serjeants	7
Rank and File	105
	<hr/> 115

WOUNDED.

Lieut. Colonels	3
Captains	3
Lieutenants	10
Ensigns	1
Sergeants	13
Drummers	1
Rank and File	147
	<hr/> 178

MISSING.

Majors	2
Captains	4
Lieutenants	3
Ensigns	2
Adjutants	1
Surgeons	1
Sergeants	21
Drummers	2
Rank and File	280
	<hr/> 316
	<hr/> 609

A most bloody battle ! The armies, on both sides, are handfuls of men. These are battles of a very different description from those of the *Peninsula*, as it was called.—General Drummond complains of the *overwhelming force of the enemy*. How came he to *besiege* him then ? It was a *sally*, observe on the part of the Americans ; and it is the first time I ever heard of a sallying party being stronger than the army besieging them. In the teeth of facts like

these the malignant ass of the *Times* newspaper has the impudence to say, with as much coolness as if he had never heard of these things : “ A peace between Great Britain and the United States can properly be made nowhere but in America. The conferences should be carried on at New-York or Philadelphia, having previously fixed at those places the head quarters of a PICTON or a HILL.” If Mr. Madison had this writer in his pay, the latter could not serve the republican cause more effectually than he is now doing. On Lake Ontario our newspapers now say, that we have *a decided superiority of force*. Very well. *Let us bear that in mind*. Let us have no *new versions after a battle* shall have taken place. The official accounts relative to the affair at Plattsburg and Lake Champlain are the most curious, certainly, that ever was seen. They consist of a mere account of the number of killed, wounded and missing, up to the time that our army quitted, or was about to quit Plattsburg, that is to say, [mind the *dates* !] up to the FOURTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER. Not a word have we about the RETREAT from Plattsburg, nor about the battle on Lake Champlain, though we have an account from sir George Prevost, dated on the FOURTH OF OCTOBER. Mark that well. The despatch is said to have been dated on the 11th, at Plattsburg, but it contains the account of the losses to the 14th ! Let us hear the apology of the *Times* newspaper :—“ The return from the 6th to the 14th of September being inclosed in the despatch bearing date the 11th, is *easily* accounted for, from the circumstance of that despatch not having been made up for some time after. Although despatches having arrived of *a later date* from sir G. Prevost *none* have been received containing *any*

account of his retreat. Private letters, however, *contradict* the American statements of precipitation and embarrassment in sir George's movements on that occasion. The despatch of the 11th before mentioned, *refers* to the action on the lake, but it is *not thought proper* to publish this until an official account of the action reaches *the admiralty*. Very well, now. Let us grant that it would not be *proper* to publish sir George's account of the action on the Lake, though it was such a lumping concern as to require but little nautical skill to describe it: yet here is no reason at all given for not publishing sir George's account *of his own retreat*, other than its *not having been received*, which is most wonderful, seeing that it is the invariable practice to enclose *duplicates* and *triplicates* of every preceding despatch, when forces are at such a distance. How came sir George, in his despatch of the 4th of October, not to send a *duplicate* of the account of his retreat, if he had sent that account before? And, if he had not sent it before, how came he not to send it along with his despatch of the 4th of October? The solving of these questions will be very good amusement for the winter evenings of Johnny Bull, who was so anxious "to give the Yankees a good *drubbing*" and who thinks nothing at all of the property tax when compared with so desirable an object. Reader, pray let me bring you back to the affair of Plattsburg. It is situated on the side of lake Champlain, about 25 miles within the United States. There is a fortress near it, in which Jonathan had 1500 regulars and 5 or 6,000 militia. Against this fort and force, sir George Prevost, with 14 or 15,000 men marched early in September, the fort being to be attacked by water by our fleet, at the same time that our army attacked it by

land.—The attack was made but the American fleet came up, attacked ours, beat and captured the whole of the ships. Sir George Prevost, seeing the fate of the fleet, retreated speedily into Canada, was followed, as the Americans say, by their army, who harassed it, took some cannon, a great quantity of stores, and many prisoners, and received from the British army, a great number of *deserters*, who quitted sir George Prevost, and went over to them. This is the most serious part of the subject; and therefore, as the Montreal newspapers had stated that we lost 150 men by desertion, as the Americans made them amount to *a great many hundreds*; and as Mr. Whitbread in the debate in Parliament a few days ago said he had heard that they amounted to 2000, and that too, of *Wellingtonians*, the people were very anxious to see *sir George Prevost's account of his retreat*. The Ministers said, that Sir George Prevost had said NOTHING about DESERTION; and that of course, *he would have mentioned it*, if it had been true. But the *Times* newspaper now tells us, that Sir George has sent *no account of his retreat*; or, at least, that *none has been received*. According to the Ministers, Sir George's account has been received, and mention is made in it of desertion. According to the *Times*, Sir George's account *has not* been received. We must believe the Ministers of course, and must set the *Times* down for a promulgator of wilful falsehoods. But, then, there is a *rub* left; if the account of the retreat is come, WHY NOT PUBLISH IT? This is another riddle Johnny Bull, for your winter evenings' amusement. The attack of our forces on Mobile, furnishes a new feature to the war. We have before seen the two parties engaged, frigate to frigate, brig to brig, sloop to sloop, and in two in-

stances, fleet to fleet. We have seen them, on land, alternately besieged and besieging. We now see the Americans in a fort, containing only 108 men, attacked by a combined naval and military armament, as to the result of which, after describing the scene of action, we must for the present take their own official account. Point Mobile is situated on the main land on the border of the Gulph of Mexico, not far from the mouth of the great river Mississippi. On this point is a fort, called Fort Bowyer, belonging to the Republican enemy, to the attack of which our squadrons proceeded in September last. [Here follow the American official accounts.]

I extract these articles from the *Times* newspaper; and yet in the face of these facts, in defiance of these red hot balls, the consummate ass would make no peace, except at *New-York or Philadelphia*, they being first the head quarters of a *Picton or a Hill!* This is as good a lift as the writer could have given to Mr. Madison, and as hard a blow as he could have given to the *Noblesse* of Massachusetts, on whom he and the rest of our war tribe had built, and do still build their hopes of ultimate success. Let him look at the attitude of New-York and Philadelphia. I do not say that it is impossible to get at either of those cities with bomb shells or rockets; but I am quite satisfied, that it would require a *very large army* to set foot in either of them, even for the purpose of burning and then quitting them in safety. I will now make an observation or two with regard to *public opinion* as to the American war. People are *disappointed*. The continuance of the *Property Tax* pinches. But would they have the luxury of war without paying for it? No, no. Pay they must; or they

must put up with what they have gotten and see the *Stars and Stripes* waving in every sea. They would have *war*. War was their cry. They have it, and they must pay for it.

TO THE COSSACK PRIESTHOOD of the State of Massachusetts.

Botley, Nov. 29, 1814.

Gentlemen—I perceive, that there were held, in your state, and at your instigation, and under your guidance and ministry, *solemn fasts and thanksgivings* on account of the entrance of the Cossacks into Paris, and of the fall of Napoleon. Hence, I perceive that you are called the *Chaplains of the Cossacks*; and sometimes, the *Cossack Priesthood*. That you, who used to be regarded as some of the best men in your republic, and the purity of whose religious motives were never even doubted, should have exposed yourselves to the application of such titles, I extremely regret to hear. But it is not my business to give way to private feelings upon such an occasion. It is for me, as far as I am able, and as I dare, to make *truth* known to the world; and, as you, in this case, appear to me to have shewn a more decided hostility to truth, than any other set of men of whom I have heard, not excepting the editors of the London newspapers, it is natural for me to address myself to you upon the subject.

The religion, of which you profess to be teachers, is the *Presbyterian*. I believe there are three or four sorts of Presbyterian Christians. To which of these sorts you belong, or whether some of you are of one sort, and some of each of the others, I know not. Nor is it material; it being well known, that, *substantially*, all these sorts are the same, and that the religion you professed, has existed, and has

been the generally prevailing religion in the four eastern states of the republic, where there has been born and reared an industrious, sober, humane, brave and free people, distinguished above all others for their good understanding of the—[*In the number from which we copy, two or three lines are obliterated*]—Whether they would have been as good, better, or worse, without the religion that you have taught; whether, discarding, as is the manner of some men, all mysteries, and believing in nothing, the truth of which cannot be substantiated by undeniable facts, or by incontrovertible argument, they would have been as good, better, or worse, than they are, is a question, which I will not meddle with. But you will excuse me, if I observe, that while this can possibly be made *a question* amongst rational men, you, who receive *pay* for your teaching of religion, ought to be very careful to excite no doubt in the minds of mankind as to the purity of your views, or the sincerity of your faith.

Your recent conduct does, however, appear to have excited such doubts in the minds of your countrymen. In *my* mind it has done more. It has convinced me that your motives are any thing rather than pure, and that your professions are a mere pretence; a trick to enable you *to live without labour upon the earnings of those who do labour*, just as are the tricks of monks and friars, and of all other imposers on popular credulity, from the golden-palmed showman of the Lady of Loretto down to the lousy-cowled consecrators of half-penny strings of beads, and the itinerant protestant bawlers, whose harangues are wholly incomprehensible, until they come round with their hat to collect the means of recruiting the belly. All the zeal of impostors of every kind; all their calumnies of others; all their

innumerable persecutions of those who have endeavoured to withdraw the people from their degrading influence, have had this great end in view : *to extract and secure to themselves the means of living well, without labour, out of the earnings of those who do labour.* I am very sorry to ascribe such a motive to you, whose forefathers fled to a wilderness rather than violate the dictates of their conscience ; but truth compels me to say, that you appear to have no claim to an exemption from the general charge. Yet, I am not so unjust as to suppose, much less to hold forth to the world, that all the priests of Massachusetts are of this description ; but, as I find no account of any protest, on the part of any of the priests, against the odious and detestable celebrations and fasts before mentioned, I shall stand fully justified for not making any particular exceptions. If any of the priests of Massachusetts feel sore under the appellation which I have given them, they ought to direct their resentment against those whose conduct has brought it upon them, and not against me, unless they are able to shew that I charge them unjustly.

Had you, indeed, confined your thanksgivings to the release of certain countries of Europe from the arms of an *invader*, a *conqueror*, an *oppressor*, an *ambitious despot*, who instead of giving *liberty*, added to the civil sufferings of some of the nations, whom he over-ran, having first extinguished Republican Government, and along with it political liberty, in France, where the people had put power into his hands to be used in the cause of freedom ; had you held solemn thanksgivings on account of the triumphs of the Cossacks, and their associates, in the cause of the *civil* and *political* independence of nations, you would not have excited indignation

in the breast of any rational man ; for though some men would have differed with you in opinion upon that point ; though some men would have said as some men thought, that the conqueror could not long have held under his sway so extensive an empire as he was grasping ; that in a few years, the several countries of which it was composed, beginning with France, would in all human probability, throw off his yoke, and form themselves into independent states, freed from all his as well as all former shackles ; and that thus he would in the end, be found to have been instrumental in establishing liberty, civil as well as religious, in every part of Europe, where it did not before exist ; though some men would have said this and would of course not have joined you in your thanksgivings for the victories of the Cossacks, no just and considerate man could have censured you so long as you confined your thanksgivings to the aforementioned objects. But when, in your prayers and sermons, you called the Cossacks and others engaged on the same side, ‘ the bulwark of your *religion* ; when with the *Reverend* Mr. PARISH at your head, you called Napoleon *Anti-Christ*, and bawled out songs of praise to the Cossacks and their associates for pulling him down ; and especially when you maliciously threw on your political opponents the charge of being the *abettors of Anti-Christ* ; then you excited the indignation of all those who did not turn with disgust from your horrid ejaculations and harangues.

If there was one trait above all others, by which your sermons and prayers, until of late years, were characterized, it was by your zealous, your violent, not to say foul-mouthed, attacks on the Romish Pontiff, faith and worship ; you had no scruple to represent the Pope as an *Anti-Christ* and as the

Scarlet Whore of Old Babylon, covered with abominations. *How clearly* did you *prove* that he was the *beast* of the Revelations ; that he had made the world drunk with the fornications ; that his seven heads were his seven hills on which Rome is situated ; his ten horns the ten principal catholic sovereigns of Europe ; and that his colour was *scarlet*, because it was *dyled in the blood of the Saints* ? Was there a sermon, was there a prayer that issued from your lips, in which you did not call on the Lord for vengeance on this “ *Man of Sin*,” and in which you did not describe the Catholic Religion as *idolatrous*, *blasphemous*, *diabolical* and as evidently tending to the *eternal damnation of millions and millions of precious souls* ?

Every one who shall read what I am now writing, must acknowledge that this description of your conduct, in regard to the Romish church, is far short of the mark. What then have you now to say, in justification of your recent conduct ? Where is your justification for your violent attacks on Napoleon and his family, to say nothing at present of your thanksgivings for the restoration of the ancient order of things, or in your own language “ the *ancient and venerable institutions* ?” Where is your justification for your attacks on Bonaparte ? *Others*, indeed, might consistently attack them. Such as thought that the church of Rome and her power were good things ; or such as regarded one religion as good as another, might consistently attack Bonaparte. But *you*, you who professed the opinions above described ; how [*Here also a few lines are obliterated*] power commenced, existing in Europe a system of religion, or as you called it, irreligion, having at the head of it a Sovereign Pontiff with innumerable cardinals, bishops, vicars, general abbots, priors, monks,

liars, secular priests, &c. &c. under him. To this body you ascribed false doctrines, tricks, frauds and cruelties, without end. You charged them with the propagation of idolatry and blasphemy, with keeping the people in ignorance ; with nourishing superstition ; with blowing the flames of persecution ; with daily murdering in the most horrid manner, the martyrs to the true faith. The Sovereign Pontiff himself, the corner stone of the whole body, you constantly called *Anti-Christ, the Scarlet Whore, the beast, and the Man of Sin*, and you prayed most vehemently for his overthrow, insisting that the system of which he was the foundation manifestly tended to the eternal damnation of the souls of the far greater part of the people of Europe.

Well, Napoleon arose. He hurled down the Pope, he overthrew the Anti-Christ, the Scarlet Whore, the Beast, the Man of Sin ; and with him all the long list of persecutors of the Saints. Napoleon and his associates did, in three years, what your prayers and preachings had not been able to effect in three centuries. The Pope was stripped of all temporal power ; the cardinals and bishops were reduced to mere cyphers ; the monks were driven from their dens of laziness and debauchery ; the tricks and frauds were exposed ; the adored images were turned into fire wood ; the holy relics were laughed at ; the light of truth was suffered freely to beam upon the minds of the people ; religious persecution was put an end to ; and all men were not only *permitted* but also *encouraged*, openly to profess, pursue and enjoy whatever species of religious faith and worship they chose.—Every man became eligible to offices, trusts and honours ; and throughout the domains of Italy and France, where a Presbyterian would have been tied to a stake and roasted rather

than be suffered to fill an office of trust, or to preach to a congregation, religious liberty, was under Napoleon, made as perfect as in Pennsylvania, and more perfect than in your State of Massachusetts.

These are facts, which none of you, not even Mr. Parish, will dare openly to deny. They are as notorious as they will be and ought to be memorable.

Ought *you* not, therefore, to have rejoiced at this wonderful change in favour of religious liberty? How could you see 50 millions of souls set free without feeling it impossible to suppress an expression of your pleasure? How could you see the fall of *Anti-Christ* without putting up thanksgiving to that God, whom you had so long been worrying with your importunities for the accomplishment of that object? Was not this an event calculated to call forth your gratitude to heaven? Ought it not to have been expected from you, that you should speak very cautiously in disapprobation of Napoleon and the French republicans, who had effected what you had so long been praying for apparently in vain? Ought you not, if you had spoken at all of the sins of his ambition: if you had blamed him as an invader, a conqueror, a destroyer of republican freedom, to have touched him with a tender hand, considering the immense benefits which religious liberty had received in consequence of his invasions and conquests? Ought he not to have found in *you* above all men living, if not impartial judges, at least, mild and moderate censors?

If this was what might naturally and justly have been expected from you, what must have been the surprise and indignation of those who saw you amongst the very fiercest of Napoleon's foes; amongst the foulest of his calumniators; amongst the first and loudest of those who rejoiced at his

fall ; who saw you holding solemn fasts and thanksgivings for his overthrow ; who heard you hail with holy rapture the return of “ the ancient order of things,” and the re-establishment of the “ *venerable institutions*” of Europe ; who heard you joining in the hosannas of the monks, styling the Cossacks and their associators “ Bulwarks of *Religion*,” “ *Deliverers*” and “ *Saviours* ;” who heard you in the words of Mr. Parish, shifting from the pope to Napoleon himself the imputation of being *Anti-Christ*, and charging your political opponents with being the abettors of that “ Scarlet Whore,” that “ Man of Sin !”—What must have been the surprise and indignation of those who were the witnesses of your conduct upon this memorable occasion ? How you may stand at this time, in the estimation of your flocks, it is impossible for me to know ; but if you still preserve your former weight and consequence, I must say that you exhibit an instance of success, of which, in an enlightened country, no former set of imposters ever had to boast.

What was that “ ancient order of things,” the return of which you hailed with such rapture ? *What were* those “ venerable institutions,” of which you thanked the Lord for the approaching re-establishment ? The *Holy See of Rome* was one, and the *Inquisition* was another. Thousands of subaltern “ venerable institutions” naturally followed in the train of these ; such as the Virgin Mary’s house at Loretto, the shrine of Saint Antony, the Holy Cross, the exhibition of St. Catharine’s Wheel, the Holy Thorn that penetrated Christ’s cheek, of the Breeches of St. Polomo, so efficacious with barren wives, especially by a lusty monk. Hundreds and thousands of thousands of these “ *venerable*” things naturally followed the overthrow of him who had

overthrown them. All the persecutions of the Protestants ; all the frauds, insolence and cruelty of the Romish priests, must have been in your view. You are not *ignorant* men. On the contrary, you are some of the most cunning even of priests. You knew to a moral certainty that the pope, whom you had formerly led your flocks to believe was Anti-Christ, would be restored. You knew that, instead of a milder sway, he would naturally be more rigid than ever in the exercise of the power. All this you knew. You knew that the *toleration* of all Protestant sects, the encouragement of them, the free use of reason on religious subjects, and the free circulation of religious opinions, which were so complete under Napoleon, would be instantly destroyed in the far greater part of Europe. And yet you held a solemn thanksgiving to God that Napoleon had been overthrown, and you had the impious hypocrisy to call his enemies “ the bulwarks of *religion* ;” you, aye, *you*, whose fathers fled to a wilderness across the sea, rather than live where they were not permitted openly to renounce as damnable the remnants which the church of England had preserved of that very religion ; of which the enemies of Napoleon were the bulwark, and which you now thanked God for the prospect of seeing restored !

The holy father whom you had formerly called the “ Scarlet Whore,” dyed in the blood of the saints. The “ *beast*,” as you used to call him, whose “ mouth was full of blasphemies,” remounted his chair even before “ the *most christian king*” got upon his throne. One of his first acts was to restore the *Jesuits*, that “ ancient and venerable institution,” which had become so odious on account of its wicked acts that it had been abolished by all

the princes of Europe, and even by a former pope himself. The next remarkable step was, the re-establishment of the *Inquisition* in Spain, where it had been *abolished by Napoleon* on the day that he took possession of the government of that country; and, what is worthy of particular notice, though perfectly natural, “Ferdinand the *beloved*,” in his ordinance, dated 23d July last, for the re-establishment of that horrid tribunal, makes use of almost *your very language in reproaching Napoleon with its abolition*, as you will see by the ordinance itself, annexed to this letter.

You yourselves well know what that tribunal was; but as some of the good people whom you have deceived, may not know the precise nature of that “*venerable institution*,” which Napoleon abolished, and which has been restored in consequence of the success of your “*bulwark of religion*.” I will here insert an account of it from the last edition of *Encyclopædiæ Britannica*, referring your flocks to Mr. Dobson’s greatly improved Philadelphia edition, that they may verify the correctness of the extract, which they will find under the words “*Inquisition*” and “*act of faith*,” as follows:

“**INQUISITION.**—In the church of Rome, a tribunal in several Roman Catholic countries, erected by the popes for the examination and punishment of heretics.—This court was founded in the 12th century by Father Dominic and his followers, who were sent by Pope Innocent III. with orders to excite the Catholic princes and people to extirpate heretics, to search into their number and adultery, and to transmit a faithful account thereof to Rome. Hence they were called *Inquisitors*; and this gave birth to the formidable tribunal of the Inquisition, which was received in all Italy and the

dominions of Spain, except the kingdom of Naples and the Low Countries. This diabolical tribunal takes cognizance of Heresy, Judaism, Mahometanism, Sodomy and Polygamy ; and the people stand so much in fear of it that parents deliver their children, husbands their wives, and masters their servants, to its officers, without daring in the least to murmur. The prisoners are kept for a long time, till they themselves turn their own accusers, and declare the cause of their imprisonment ; for they are neither told their crime nor confronted with witnesses. As soon as they are imprisoned, their friends go into mourning, and speak of them as dead, not daring to solicit their pardon, lest they should be brought in as accomplices. When there is no shadow of proof against the pretended criminal he is discharged, after suffering the most cruel tortures, a tedious and dreadful imprisonment, and the loss of the greatest part of his effects.—The sentence against prisoners is pronounced publicly and with the greatest solemnity. In Portugal they erect a theatre capable of holding 3000 persons, in which they place a rich altar, and raise seats on each side in the form of an amphitheatre. There the prisoners are placed ; and over against them is a high chair, whither they are called one by one to hear their doom from one of the inquisitors.—These unhappy people know what they are to suffer by the clothes they wear that day.—Those who appear in their own clothes are discharged upon payment of a fine ; those who have a *santo benito*, or straight yellow coat without sleeves, charged St. Andrew's cross, have their lives, but forfeit all their effects ; those who have the resemblance of flames made of red serge sewed upon their *santo benito*, without any cross, are pardoned, but threatened to

be burned if ever they relapse ; but those who besides these flames have on their *santo benito* their own picture, surrounded with figures of devils, are condemned to expire in the flames. The inquisitors, who are ecclesiastics, do not pronounce the sentence of death, but form and read an act, in which they say, that the criminal being convicted of such a crime by his own confession, is, with much reluctance, delivered to the secular power, to be punished according to his demerits ; and this writing they give to the seven judges who attend at the right side of the altar, who immediately pass sentence."

" ACT OF FAITH—In the Romish Church is a solemn day held by the inquisition for the punishment of heretics and the absolution of the innocent accused. They usually contrive the *Auto* to fall on some great festival, that the execution may pass with more awe and regard ; at least it is always on a sunday. The *Auto da Fe*, or *Act of Faith*, may be called the last act of the inquisitorial tragedy ; it is a kind of gaol delivery, appointed as often as a competent number of prisoners, in the inquisition, are convicted of heresy, either by their own voluntary or extorted confession or on the evidence of certain witnesses.—The process is thus :—In the morning they are brought into a great hall, where they have certain habits put on, which they are to wear in the procession. The procession is led up by Dominican friars ; after which come the penitents, some with *san benitoes* and some without, according to the nature of the crimes ; being all in black coats without sleeves and barefooted, with a wax candle in their hands. These are followed by the penitents who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who, over their black coats, have flames paint-

ed with their points turned downwards, *fuego revolto*. Next come the negative and relapsed, who are to be burnt, having flames on their habits pointing upwards. After these come such as profess doctrines contrary to the faith of Rome, who, besides flames pointing upwards, have their picture painted on their breasts, with dogs, serpents, and devils, all open mouthed about it. Each prisoner is attended with a familiar of the inquisition; and those to be burnt have also a Jesuit on each hand, who is continually preaching to them to abjure. After the prisoners, come a troop of familiars on horseback, and, after them, the inquisitors and other officers of the court, on mules; last of all, the inquisitor general, on a white horse, led by two men with black hats and green hat bands. A scaffold is erected in the *Tertero de Pacs*, big enough for two or three thousand people; at one end of which are the prisoners—at the other, the inquisitors. After a sermon, made up of encomiums of the inquisition and invectives against heretics, a priest ascends a desk near the middle of the scaffold, and, having taken the abjuration of the penitents, recites the final sentence of those who are to be put to death, and delivers them to the secular arm, earnestly beseeching, at the same time, the secular powers not to touch their blood or put their lives in danger. The prisoners being thus in the hands of the civil magistrates, are presently loaded with chains and carried first to the secular gaol, and from thence, in an hour or two, brought before the civil judge, who, after asking in what religion they intend to die, pronounces sentence on such as declare they die in the communion of Rome, that they shall be first strangled and then burnt to ashes; on such as die in any other faith, that they be burnt alive. Both are immediately carried to the Ribera, the place of execution; where

there are as many stages set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a quantity of dry furs about them. The stakes of the professed, that is, such as persist in their heresy, are about four yards high, having a small board towards the top for the prisoner to be seated on. The negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt, the professed mount their stakes by a ladder, and the Jesuits, after several repeated exhortations to be reconciled to the Church, part with them, telling them they leave them to the Devil who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls and carry them with him into the flames of hell. On this a great shout is raised, and the cry is, *Let the dogs' beards be made*—which is done by thrusting flaming furzes fastened to long poles against their faces till their faces are burnt to a coal, which is accompanied with the loudest acclamations of joy. At last fire is set to the furze at the bottom of the stake over which the professed are chained so high that the top of the flame seldom reaches higher than the board they sit on ; so that they rather seem roasted than burnt. There cannot be a more lamentable spectacle ; the sufferers continually cry out while they are able, *Misericordia per amor de Dios*. “ Pity for the love of God ! ” yet it is beheld by all sexes and ages with transports of joy and satisfaction.”

People of Massachusetts ! Sons of Englishmen who fled to a wilderness, who sacrificed their dearest connexions to religious liberty ! Merciful, humane, gentle, kind, and brave people of Massachusetts, though your Cossack priests can view with dry eyes and unmoved muscles this horrid spectacle, does it not chill the blood in *your* veins ? Though they, with holy impudence, can put up thanksgiving for the fall of him by whom this “ *venerable*

institution" had been overthrown, and at whose fall its revival was a natural, if not certain consequence ; do not *your* hearts revolt at the impiousness, the baseness, the cruelty of the sentiment ?

People of Massachusetts (for to your hardened priests will I no longer address myself) what could have been the real cause of this conduct on the part of your priests ? In the people of England it is very natural and reasonable to rejoice at the fall of Napoleon. He had immense power ; he had threatened to invade their country ; he had made preparations for so doing. It was therefore natural for them to rejoice at his fall ; but even here, with the exception of a few hypocrites, despised by persons of sense of all parties, people did not rejoice at his fall as an enemy of religion. Had your priests not put up thanksgiving for the deliverance of religion, their conduct might have been passed over ; but, when they made that the ground of their gratitude to the Cossacks and to Heaven, they invited the lash of censure ; they called aloud for the detestation of mankind.

While, indeed, the French nation seems to have thrown aside all religion whatever ; while they were setting aside all the memorials and marks of the Christian era, while they were apparently all Atheists, there was some reason for your priests to wish their overthrow. Even in that case, however, they would have shown more confidence in Christianity if they had been less bitter against the French.—Some men thought that their extreme asperity against such writers as Paine seemed not to say that they possessed ability to defeat him in the field of argument ; and, indeed, seemed to argue that they did not feel a sufficient degree of confidence in the goodness of their cause itself ; for if

they have been thoroughly convinced, as they ought to have been, that the Christian religion was built upon a rock, and that the gates of hell would never prevail against it, Paine would have been an object of their *pity* rather than of their *persecution*. Their anger against him was madness, unless they apprehended *danger* from his attempts; and if they did apprehend *danger* from those attempts they shewed a want of sufficient confidence in their cause itself, which want of confidence should have taught them moderation in their attacks on the adversary. There was a great outcry about Atheism in France; but what was it after all but letting the human mind loose to range at pleasure? When every man was at liberty to say what he liked, who need have been afraid of the cause of *truth*?—He who was an insincere Christian; he who *doubted* of the truth of Christianity; he who thought it false, but who professed it from interested motives, had reason to rail against the innovators: but he who was a real believer, and whose belief was founded on the conclusions of reason, could not possibly have any ground for alarm, seeing that *freedom of discussion* is and eternally must be favourable to truth, and of course hostile to *error* and *falsehood*. Those, therefore, who are opposed to freedom of discussion *on any subject*, and who make use of clamours, slanders, or force to prevent it, may, in all cases, and acting under whatever pretence, be safely considered as wishing to sustain error or falsehood.

But these observations do not apply to the case of the emperor Napoleon. However just the hatred of your priests against the Atheists of France, there was no portion of that hatred due to him who re-opened the churches, who invited the performance of religious worship, who encouraged the

people to make provision for the maintenance of the parochial clergy, who went very regularly to hear mass himself; but who, at the same time, effectually prevented all religious persecution, who countenanced and encouraged all religious sects, who put them all upon a footing of civil and political equality, and who, throughout his vast dominions, was speedily introducing such a system as to religion as must in a few years have inevitably rooted out every fibre of superstition, and have put an end for ever to that spirit of persecution, which had so long been filling Europe with misery and crimes.

Be he, therefore, what he might, in other respects, he had been, and he was a friend and protector of religious freedom. This quality, one would have thought, was that which above all others, ought to have pleaded in his behalf with other priests; yet they rejoiced at his fall; they hailed his enemies as the "bulwarks of religion;" they put up thanksgivings for the restoration of the "venerable institutions" which he had pulled down; and they even called him "Antichrist," the appellation which they had formerly given to the pope.

Let your priests say what they will of the French republicans and of Napoleon, the world are witnesses to the fact, that, even though a counter revolution has taken place in France, that country has derived immense advantages from the revolution: that she is now freed from numerous oppressions before endured; that her agriculture has made astonishing progress; that she has got rid of her *feudal tyrannies*, her *monks*, her *tithes*; that her farmers are now able to undersell ours in our own markets; that her manufactures are greatly increased; and that, as yet, her king has not ventured to overthrow Napoleon's laws, securing to all men perfect *religious li-*

erty and an equality as to all matters connected with religious worship and the public capacities of the professors of different religions. Nothing could be a greater compliment to Napoleon, than the *stipulation* with the king, that NAPOLEON'S CODE, civil and religious, *should remain untouched*.

What ground, then, could *your* priests have for their implacable hatred of Napoleon? Why did *they* put up thanksgiving for his overthrow? Why did *they* call the Cossacks and their associates the “bulwarks of religion!” Why did *they* call him the oppressor of Spain, who abolished the *Inquisition*, and had driven the monks from their convents and their luxury? What could have been the cause of *their* being amongst his calumniators? How came *they* to join in the prayers and thanksgivings of the Jesuits and Dominicans? The truth is, they were actuated by *self-interest*.—They were alarmed at the consequences to which freedom of discussion might lead. The sudden overthrow of the old establishments of Europe; the great shock which the French revolution gave to long received opinions; the burst of light which had come into the human mind; these alarmed them. They began to fear, that, if religion become out of fashion in Europe, it might become out of fashion in Massachusetts, and leave them in a situation like that of the buckle makers when shoe strings came in vogue.—They now began to perceive that the fall of the pope and of the Romish superstition and persecutions, would be to them a vast injury. They saw that the French and Napoleon were snatching the very bread and meat off their plates. This was the true cause of their hostility against him; this was the true cause of their thanksgivings for the victories of the Cossacks and their associates, as the “bulwarks of religion;

that is to say, the bulwarks of their *bread and meat*; the bulwark of their living well, *without labour*, on the earnings of *you* who pay them, and who *do labour*. The same motive would, of course, have induced them to abuse the pullers down of Mahomet. Nor must they be surprised if the world should suspect, that, in a similar cause, they would have made, if they could, a solemn league and covenant with the devil himself, and have called *him* the "bulwark of *religion*."

If this conclusion against the Cossack Priests of Massachusetts were not obviously deducible from their above-described conduct, unsupported by any fact; if any other proof were wanted, you have that proof in their electioneering tricks of last year, when amongst their objections to the electing of a Republican, or as they termed it, *Democratic Legislature*, they complained of a *former Democratic Legislature* in these memorable words:—"They *impaired the constitutional provision for the support of public worship*, by releasing the disaffected from contributing to the support of *permanent teachers of piety, religion, and morality*."—That is to say, they complained of the "*Democrats*" for having endeavoured to make Massachusetts, in point of religious liberty, what William Penn made Pennsylvania, and what Napoleon had made, as nearly as he possibly could, France and Italy, and all the countries which he had conquered. Here we see the REAL ground of the hostility of your Priests to the French Republicans, to Napoleon, and the Republican party in America. They had long enjoyed the benefices of a sort of *established and dominant church*; they had long been receiving *compulsory payments for their support*; they had long felt agreeable effects of this "*venerable institution*." The example of France, and the practical

effect thereof in America, had shaken their hold of valuable possessions; and hence, and hence alone, their abuse of the French and Napoleon; their dread of the continuance of his power; their exultation at his overthrow; and their thanksgivings for the restoration of those "venerable institutions" in Europe; those ecclesiastical powers and profits of which the French and Napoleon had been the determined enemies.

No more need be said. You, the people of Massachusetts, who possess so much good sense who, have so often exercised that good sense as to other persons and things, cannot long remain the dupes of these hypocrites, who, while they have the desire of your welfare in the next world, constantly on their lips, are manifestly intent upon securing to themselves, in this world, ease and plenty at the public expense.

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—The following is the decree of the king of Spain, re-establishing the inquisition, published in a supplement to the Madrid Gazette, 23d of July, 1814.

"The king our lord has been pleased to enact the following decree. The glorious *title of Catholic*, by which the kings of Spain are distinguished among the other Christian princes, because they do *not tolerate in their kingdom any one who professes another religion than the Catholic Apostolic and Roman*, has powerfully excited my heart to employ all the means which God has placed in my hands, in order to make myself worthy of it. The past troubles and war which afflicted all the provinces of the kingdom during the space of six years; the residence therein, during that time, of *foreign troops of different sects*, almost all *infected* with abhorrence and hatred to the Catholic religion; and the disor-

der that these evils always bring with them, together with the little care which was taken for some time in providing for what concerned the things of religion, gave to the wicked unlimited license to live after their free will, and to introduce in this kingdom, and fix in many persons, *pernicious opinions*, by the same means with which they had been propagated in other countries. Desiring, therefore, to provide a remedy against so great an evil, and preserve in my dominions the holy religion of Jesus Christ, which my people love, and in which they have lived and do live happily, both by the duty which the fundamental laws of the kingdom impose on the prince which shall reign over it, and I have to observe and fulfil, as likewise being the most proper means to preserve my subjects from intestine dissensions, and maintain them in peace and tranquillity, I have thought it would be very convenient in the present circumstances that the tribunal of the holy office should return to the exercise of its jurisdiction. Upon which subject wise and virtuous prelates and many corporations and serious persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, have represented to me that it was owing to this tribunal that Spain was not contaminated in the 16th century, with the errors that caused so much affliction in other kingdoms, the nation flourishing at that time in all kinds of literature, in great men, in holiness and virtue. And that *one of the principal means* employed by the *oppressor of Europe*, in order to sow *corruption and discord* from which he derived so many advantages, was *to destroy it under pretence that the light of the age could not bear its continuance any longer*; and which afterwards the self-styled general Cortes with the *same pretence*, and that of the constitution, which they had tumult-

tuously framed, annulled, to the great sorrow of the nation. Wherefore they have ardently requested me to re-establish that tribunal; and according to their requests and the wishes of the people, who, from love to the religion of their fathers, have restored, of their own accord, some of the subaltern tribunals to their functions, I have resolved that the council of the inquisition. and the other tribunals of the holy office, should be restored, and continued in the exercise of their jurisdiction, both *ecclesiastical*, which, at the request of my august predecessors, the pontiffs gave to it, and the *royal*, which the kings granted to it, observing, in the exercise of both, the ordinances by which they were governed in 1808, and the laws and processions, which to avoid certain abuses, and moderate some privileges, it was mete to take at different times. As besides these provisions it may perhaps be suitable to adopt others; and my intention being to improve this establishment that the greatest utility may arise to my subjects from it, I wish that as soon as the council of the inquisition shall meet, two of its members, with two others of my royal council, both of which I shall nominate, should examine the form and mode of proceeding in the causes appertaining to the holy office, and the method established for the censure and prohibition of books; and if there should be found any thing in it contrary to the good of my subjects, and the upright administration of justice, or that ought to be altered, it shall be proposed to me, that I may determine what shall be proper. This communicated for your information, and of whom it may concern.

“ Palace, 21st July, 1814.

THE KING.

“ To Don Pedro de Macanaz.”

FROM COBBETT'S REGISTER OF JANUARY 21, 1815.

America.—Peace being now happily concluded with the *country of freedom*, it will not be necessary for me to occupy so large a portion of the Register as I lately have, with observations relating to it.—But, still this country, now nearly as much above all others in military and naval prowess as she is, and long has been, in civil, religious, and political liberty; still this favoured country this asylum and example to the oppressed of all other nations, must continue to be a deeply interesting object with every one, whom I wish to see amongst my readers. I shall, therefore, in future, write of the affairs of America under one general rule, numbering the several articles from No. I. onwards.—Previous to the war, I wrote several articles, under the form of *Letters*, and otherwise; during the war a great many more. And, I am of opinion, if all these were collected together, from the month of July 1810, to the 14th of this present month of January, 1815, they would be found to contain as good a history of this important struggle, as is likely to appear in any other shape,—The rise, the progress, the termination, are all here to be found very amply detailed. The views on both sides; the passions, the prejudices; the means made use of to delude the people of England. The effect of the result of the contest on men's minds. All will here be found to have been faithfully recorded;

that is to say, as far as I have *dared* to go ; and for the restraint, which I have been under, and for which no human ingenuity could have compensated, the judicious and impartial reader will make a suitable allowance.—This, however, is only said as to *our side of the water* ; for, in the country of freedom, the *naked truth* will be told. *There* every man will write and publish *what he pleases* ; *there* discussions will be really free ; *there* no man will tremble while he writes ; and *there truth* must and will prevail. It is often observed, that *history* to be *impartial*, must be written *long after the date* of the events of which it is a record. This is a strange notion. It is so contrary to every rule of common life, that it naturally staggers one. If we want to keep our accounts, or the records of any proceedings in life, *accurately*, we never lose a moment in minuting the facts down as they occur. If evidence is given from a written paper, it must, to make the evidence good, have been *written at the moment that the facts occurred*. How strange, then is it, that, for *history* to be *true*, that it must be written a century, or two, *after* the period to which it relates ; that is to say, that, to come at the *real truth* of any national occurrence, in order to arrive at a just decision upon the conduct of a nation, you must enter upon the inquiry *after all the witnesses are dead*, and after all the springs, hidden from common eyes, and which no man has dared to record an account of in print, are wholly forgotten, and sunk, for ever, out of sight.—It is said, that, at the time when the events occur, the historian is too near to the *passions* and *prejudices* of the times, and is too likely to partake of them. But, at a hundred years after the events, what has he to refer to but *writings of the times* ; and how then is he more

likely to get at the truth? We suppose the historian to *seek earnestly for truth*; and is he more likely to get at it, when all the springs are forgotten and all the witnesses dead, than when he has access to them all? The real state of the case is this: the historian DARES NOT write a *true* history of present events, and a *true* description of the character of public institutions, establishments, laws, and men, in any country except America. *Truth*, in England, may be a LIBEL; libels are punished more severely than the greatest part of felonies, as my lord Folkstone shewed, in the house of commons, from an examination of the Newgate Calendar; and, it is well known, that in answering a charge of libel, the TRUTH of what you have written or published, is not allowed EVEN TO BE GIVEN IN EVIDENCE. This is the real, and the only ground for pretending, that history ought to be written long after the period to which it relates. But, how are you bettered by length of time? It is a *libel* here to speak evil of the *dead*. The dead villain must not, if it give offence to certain persons, be truly characterized; and, remember, that the *sources*, to which the historian has to refer, are precisely those which have been created under this law of libel.

In the great republic of America, the case is wholly different. There any man may publish *any thing that he pleases of public measures, or public men*, provided that he confine himself to *truth* in what he *asserts to be facts*. There any *opinions* may be published; but here, even *opinions* expose writers, printers and publishers to punishment; and, observe, that that which a man may say, in a *private letter*, is held to be *published*, and if determined to be libellous, liable to punishment.

Well may we hold it to be a maxim, that the writing of history ought to be *delayed* until a remote period; but it would be a much more sensible maxim, that no history written under such circumstances, (with a law that punishes libels on the *dead*) ought ever to be regarded as any thing better than a sort of *political romance*. There is no reason, however, why a history of this war should not *immediately* be written, and published in the republic, with whom, thank the ministers, and the President, and the brave republicans, we are now at peace. From that country we may now receive such a history. It might be a little too *strong* to be *published* here; or even to be *sold* here. But those who wished for copies might get them through private channels; though, I ought to observe, for the good of the unwary, that to *lend* a book, or, to *shew* a book to another person, is to publish a book in the eye of our sharp sighted libel law.

Nevertheless, if some able and animated pen, set to work on this fine subject, a subject so closely connected with the cause of freedom all over the world, there is no doubt of its obtaining circulation, even in England; and while it would be sure, by means of a French translation, to be read all over the continent, where it must produce a prodigious effect. But I hope to see nothing of the *maudling* kind; nothing of the *milk and water*; nothing of the “*gentlemanly*” sort; no mincing of the matter. But, a real, *true*, history, applying to persons and acts the appellations which *justice* assigns them.— If such a work were published, rather than not possess a copy, I would make one of my sons traverse the Atlantic, expressly to fetch it to me. I hope, however, that some man in America, who feels upon the subject as I feel, will take the trouble to

convey to me by a safe hand, (not through the post office) a copy or two of the first work of the above description that shall appear. But mind, I should despise any history which should not speak of ALL the actors, on both sides, without the smallest regard of the humbug and palaver of the day, applying to their actions and their characters, and their motives, the *plainest* as well as the *truest* of epithets and terms. I am not much disposed to be unhappy. I never meet calamity half way.

But really, such a work ; the reading of such a work, and hearing my children read it, would make up for years of misery, if I had passed such—and it would be much more than a compensation for all the sufferings of my life. In short, I have set my heart on this thing, and, if I am disappointed, I shall be grieved more than I ever yet have been ; ten thousand times more than I was, when I heard the sentence of *Judge Grose* on me of two years imprisonment in Newgate, a thousand pounds fine *to the king*, and seven years bound to good behaviour afterwards, in bonds of 5,000 pounds, for having written about the flogging of English local militia at Ely, and about German dragoons. But, why should I be disappointed ? Have I not, if no one will take up the pen, a son to take it up in the cause of truth and liberty ? The world is wide ; and now it is open. In the mean while let us not neglect that which is yet within our own power. We ought to keep the republic constantly before our eyes.—Though we make her less the subject of observation than we have done for some time past, we ought never to *lose sight* of her. The enemies of liberty are always on the watch to assail, through her sides, the object of their mortal hatred ; and, therefore we ought to lose no occasion of facing and of

fighting them. In order to facilitate reference, and to give something of uniformity of arrangement to the matter in the Register, relating to America, I intend to insert, under one general head, all such matter of my own writing, and to mention under that general head the several topics treated of, in the following manner.

No. I.

MR. HUNT'S motion and Sir JOHN COX HIPPISELY'S speech
respecting America

At a meeting of the county of Somerset, on the 9th instant, a curious occurrence took place with regard to the peace with America. I will first give the account of it from the *Times* newspaper of the 16th instant, and make on it such observations as most naturally present themselves. The reader should first be informed, however, that the meeting was held for the purpose of discussing a petition to parliament against the *property tax*, or *tax upon income*, which tax ought, by law, to expire in a few months, but which tax, it is supposed, the government means to propose the *continuation*, or *revival*. The following is the report of the *Times* :

“ On Monday last, at a meeting of the freeholders, &c. holden at Wells, to petition the parliament for the repeal of the property tax, after the business of the day was disposed of, Mr. HUNT remarked, that the meeting should not disperse without expressing their thankfulness to those by whose efforts peace had been made between us and America. He, therefore, read a resolution which he submitted for their approbation: “ That the thanks of this meeting are due to those by whose exertions peace with the Americans, the *only free*

remaining people in the world, has been restored to this country." Sir J. C. HIPPLESLEY could see no reason whatever for calling the Americans *the only free people in the world*, and should certainly divide the meeting if the motion were persisted in. It was a LIBEL on our own country; for his part, he HATED THE AMERICANS. They were a *set of slaves* to the government of France, and—(*some expressions of disapprobation arose*) when Mr. DICKINSON said, that he certainly must join in deprecating the resolution. He hoped the meeting would not consent to compliment any nation at the expense of our own, and of every other in the globe. He had *considerable reason* for believing that the congress at Vienna was now employed in endeavouring to *unrivet the chains of the suffering Africans*; and engaged, as the powers of Europe were, in so sacred a cause, he could not consent that any aspersion, direct or indirect, should be cast upon them. Mr. HUNT then requested the sheriff to put the resolution, which, upon the shew of hands, was negatived by a very *considerable majority*."

Whether there be any *free country in the world* still remaining, besides the republic of America, is a question that I do not choose to decide, or to give my opinion upon. But, I cannot help observing, that the question was decided in the negative by a meeting of the county of Somerset only by a "*considerable majority*;" and, I must further observe that the report of this "*considerable majority*" comes to us through the *Times newspaper*, that channel of skunk-like abuse of America and all that is American. Let it be remembered, too, that the power of deciding who had the majority, lay wholly and absolutely with the sheriff, who is an officer appointed by the crown. This being the case, the words "*consider-*

able majority" will be pretty well understood to mean *any thing but a large majority*; and, perhaps, some people may doubt whether there was any majority at all. At any rate, the county of Somerset *divided* upon the question of, whether America was, or was not, *the only free country left in the world*. This was, at last, a question for which *many* were in the affirmative. It was received and put to the vote without any marks of disapprobation; while, on the other hand, he was *hissed*, who said that he *hated* the Americans, and who called them *the slaves of the French government*. And *why*, good Sir John, do you *hate* the Americans? What have they done to you? You say, that they are the slaves of the government of France; but you do not find it convenient to produce any proof of what you say.

This, sir John, is one of the old stale falsehoods of the *Times* newspaper, which you are retailing at second hand, like a Grub-street pedlar. You are, in this instance, a poor crawling imitator of a wretched grinder of paid-for paragraphs. *Prove*, or attempt to prove what you say. Attempt, at least, to prove, that the Americans are the slaves, or have been, the slaves of the French; or, you must be content to go about saddled with the charge of having made an assertion, that the Americans were not in any shape or degree, subservient to France. I assert, that they all along acted the part of a nation *truly independent*. I assert that they, in no case, shewed a partiality for the government of Napoleon. If any proof were wanted of their having placed *no reliance upon France*, we have it in the fact, the fact so honourable, so glorious to them, and so unfortunate for us: I mean the fact of their *continuing the contest after Napoleon was put down*, and still, as firmly as

before, *refusing to give up to us one single point*, though they saw us allied with all Europe, and though they saw the whole of our monstrous force directed against them, having no other enemy to contend with. This *proves* that they placed no reliance upon France. When they declared war, they saw us with a powerful enemy in Europe.

Upon that circumstance they, of course calculated, as they had a right to do ; but, when that enemy, contrary to their expectation, was put down all of a sudden, and the whole of our enormous force was bent against America, she was not intimidated. She still set us at defiance ; she faced us ; she fought us ; and, at the end of a few months, instead of receiving a *vice roy* at Washington, as we had been told she would, she brought us to make peace with her without her giving up to us one single point of any sort. Deny this, if you can, sir John ; and, if you cannot, answer to the people of Somerset for the speech, which the *Times* has published as yours. But, sir John, why do you HATE the Americans ? You cannot, surely, hate them because they pay their President only about six thousand pounds a year, not half so much as our APOTHECARY GENERAL receives. You, surely, cannot hate them because they do not pay in the gross amount of their taxes as much as we pay for the mere collection and management of ours. You, surely, cannot hate them because they keep no sinecure placemen, and no pensioners, except to such as have actually rendered them services, and to them grant pensions only by vote of their real representatives. You, surely, cannot hate them because, in their country, the press is *really* free, and *truth* cannot be a *libel*. You, surely, cannot hate them because they have shewn that a *cheap* government is, in fact the

strongest of all governments, standing in no need of the troops or of treason-laws to defend it in times even of actual invasion.

You may, indeed, *pity* them, because they are destitute of the honour of being governed by some illustrious family ; because they are destitute of dukes, royal and others, of most noble marquises, of earls, viscounts and barons ; because they are destitute of knights of the garter, thistle and bath, grand crosses, commanders and companions ; because they are, in spite of the efforts of the Massachusetts intriguers, still destitute of illustrious highnesses, right honourables, honourables, and esquires ; because they are destitute of long robes and big wigs, and see their lawyers, of all ranks, in plain coats of grey, brown, or blue, as chance may determine ; because they are destitute of a church established by law and of tythes : you may, indeed, *pity* the republicans on these accounts ; but, sir John, it would be cruel to *hate* them. To hate is not the act of a christian, and very illy becomes a man like yourself, who has been a hero, a perfect dragon, in combating the anti-christian principles of the French revolution. Pity the Americans, sir John. Forgive them, sir John. Pray for them, sir John. But do not hate them, thou life-and-fortune defender of our holy religion. Pray that they may speedily have a king and royal family, with a commander in chief and field marshals ; that they may have a civil list and sinecures ; that they may have lords, dukes, grand crosses, clergy, regular army, and tythes ; *pray* for these things, in their behalf, as long as you please ; pray that the Americans may have as good a government as we have ; but, because they have it not, do not *hate* them.

I was really very happy to perceive, that you

were *hissed* for this sentiment, at the county meeting. I was happy to perceive it, because it was a sign, that the people of England are coming to their senses upon this the most important of all subjects. Why could you not have expressed yourself in terms less hostile to every generous and humane feeling? I confess that Mr. Hunt's motion, though if he thought it *true*, he was right in making it, might fairly be objected to by any one who thought differently. But, you might have reprobated the endeavour to describe England as *not free*, (if you regarded her as being free) without saying that you *hated* the Americans. This it was, that shocked the meeting, and, accordingly it hooted you, as appears from the report, as published even by the Times newspaper. Every effort ought now to be made to produce reconciliation with America; and you, appear to have done all that you were *able* to do, to perpetuate the animosities engendered by the war. Mr. Dickinson managed his opposition to the motion more adroitly. He observed, that the holy war powers, now in congress at Vienna, were, "*he had considerable reason to believe,*" engaged in an effort to unrivet the chains of the *African* slave, and, therefore, he could not consent to any motion that might seem to glance against *their* people being free.—So, Mr. Dickinson concluded, it seems, that if the "sacred cause" powers should settle upon some general prohibition against the increase of slaves *in the West Indies*, there cannot possibly remain any thing like slavery in Russia, Prussia, Poland, Germany, Bohemia, Transylvania, Sclavonia, Italy, Spain or Portugal.

I should like to have heard the chain of argument through which this member for Somerset arrived at such a conclusion from such premises. I suppose

that it must have been something in this way : That the “sacred cause” powers are all perfectly sincere in their professions ; that, being so, it is impossible, to believe, that they would shew so much anxiety for the freeing of the Africans, while they held their own subjects in slavery ; and that, *therefore*, it is impossible to believe, that the people of Russia, Germany, and Hungary, are not perfectly free. I dare say, that Mr. Dickinson said a great deal more upon the subject, and produced *facts* as well as arguments to prove, that Mr. Hunt’s motion was an unjust attack upon those powers ; and I confess, that it would be a great treat to me to see those *facts* upon paper.

A GLIMPSE

OF THE

AMERICAN VICTORIES, &c. &c.

IT is a duty the people of the United States, both individually and collectively, owe their legitimate sovereign Lord and King the Great Jehovah, to remember with sentiments of unfeigned gratitude and thankfulness our recent desperate conflict and pacification with Great Britain. I at first purposed merely to compile some of the most distinguished of the American victories as an appendix to the prefixed letters of Mr. Cobbett, but I cannot let the present opportunity slip, (although I am censured by bigots and pharisees for writing on politics) without reminding the American population, of the paternal kindness of their father and their king in their late time of trial; that it may stimulate us all to render unto him the grateful tribute of thanksgiving for his unspeakable goodness; and those who refuse so to do, especially after reading these remarks are guilty of the basest and blackest ingratitude, than which a greater crime men cannot commit, nationally or individually. May every American heart palpitate with ardent love to our glorious king, and every eye glisten with tears of gratitude, while reading a concise recapitulation of his loving kindness to these rising states in the time of our greatest extremity. If one hundred, or even one reader is stimulated by these remarks to love and praise God for the national blessing we have received, I will consider myself sufficiently reward-

ed. Perhaps it would be proper in this place, to point out concisely the causes as well as the consequences of the late war. The impressment of American seamen by the British naval commanders, appears to be the chief cause thereof. Even president Washington remonstrated and reprobated this unlawful practise in the strongest terms.

Also, the restrictions on our commerce was a just cause of complaint.

“ On the 25th of March, 1807, an act of parliament passed, the object of which was to permit the United States to trade to France and her dependencies, on condition, that our vessels should first enter some British port, pay a transit duty, and take out a license ! A compliance with this unprecedented regulation would have subjected a single cargo of flour to the payment of more than eight thousand dollars, and an ordinary cargo of cotton to more than fifty thousand dollars. On the article of tobacco alone Great Britain would have extorted from us the annual tribute of two millions, three hundred, and thirty-eight thousand dollars. The payment of these duties on all our articles of exportation would have drawn from us a yearly sum more than sufficient to pay the interest on our national debt. Under the orders in council more American vessels and cargoes were seized and condemned than have been captured by the enemy since the declaration of war.

Such, is a short, and impartial glimpse of the acts of aggression and rapacity which led to the war. Were we disposed to add to the colouring of the picture we might call to recollection the outrages on our territorial jurisdiction by the blockade of the mouths of our harbours and rivers, the murder of our citizens within our own waters, the attack

on the Chesapeake, the disavowal of Erskine's arrangement, the excitement of the savages to hostilities on our frontier inhabitants and the authorised mission of John Henry, for the purpose of producing civil war and a severance of the union."

The almost miraculous transactions which happened on the theatre of war in Europe soon after the declaration of war against England by the American government, might be considered big with portentous events to this country. I would ask any man who believes in the divine agency, and that a sparrow does not fall to the ground without the notice of God, if he cannot clearly see the finger of Heaven raised, or if you please, the special interposition of Providence exerted in our behalf in the recent sanguinary contest.

After enduring with proverbial patience a thousand indignities, the loss of nearly one thousand sail of our ships, and impressment of thousands of our citizens, we declared war against the invader of our rights, when eight of the European nations combined with France against England. Soon after this eventful period France fails in her military enterprises. All Europe arms against her, and the coalition triumphs at the gates of Paris. France being humbled, England turns her military and maritime vengeance upon us, while we had only one arm to raise against her accumulating fury, the other nervous and powerful arm being tied down by the spirit of faction and political rancour. Thus with one hand the United States found themselves engaged with the greatest power on earth. The "bits of striped bunting" float alone against the crimson banner of the queen of the ocean. All the friends of liberty trembled for our fate; and the

only free country on earth would have fallen a victim to the spirit of despotism, had not God been our defender. After the subjugation of France the arms of the United States were more victorious than they were ever before. Many and sanguinary were the conflicts on land and water in which victory crowned our just cause. In New-England the enemy gained a partial preponderance, because of the disaffection of its big men to our just cause : and in Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, they were permitted by a similar spirit in the little men to burn the capital. In the first instance the state-rulers would not lead on the brave Bostonians to repel and chastise the invading foe, and in the last the people would not support their rulers while repelling their enemies. I recollect about two years ago, I saw in Georgetown, hand-bills posted up, wherein the inhabitants were notified that a meeting was appointed, also, a day of thanksgiving, rejoicing and feasting, for the recent Russian victories, and of course English victories over the French. An oration was delivered at the English church, and te deum was sung. When I saw these things, I exclaimed in the language of astonishment, "is it possible that toryism is thus permitted to flourish in the centre of the republic." The people who thus rejoiced at the victories of our enemy, I queried if they would defend their own capital if invaded ; the sequel proved that my fears were not without foundation. I had also proposed to disseminate a number of the fourth edition of my "Charms of Benevolence, and Patriotic Mentor, or the Rights and Privileges of Republicanism contrasted with the Wrongs and Usurpations of Monarchy," with this motto :

Freedom's the pearl of life, the poor man's store,
But life is death when Freedom is no more.

But I was informed by a patriotic plebian, that I would meet with no encouragement for a work of that description. Hence I directed my agent to disseminate them in other parts of Maryland and Virginia, and for my part I did not sell one myself in the above three towns. The reader is humbly intreated to pardon this digression which does not properly belong to the subject, but to which we now return by boldly asserting that no victory during the war, so effectually aided our just cause as this cowardly catastrophe, because it first united the hearts of all republicans in support of their general government, and at the same time disgusted all civilized nations, at the barbarous mode of warfare carried on by England, against the arts, as well as the arsenals of the United States. After this mortifying but most fortunate event, the American arms were triumphant, and an honourable peace was the fruit thereof.

In this short but sanguinary conflict, we have taken the following public vessels from the enemy.

ON THE OCEAN.

1 Guerriere, - - -	38	11 Levant, - - -	18
2 Macedonian, - - -	38	12 Alert, - - -	16
3 Java, - - -	38	13 Boxer, - - -	16
4 Cyane, - - -	34	14 St Lawrence, - - -	12
5 Hermes, - - -	28	15 Highflyer, - - -	11
6 Frolic, - - -	18	16 Dominica, - - -	12
7 Peacock, - - -	18	17 Ballahoo, - - -	8
8 Epervier, - - -	18	18 Whiting, - - -	4
9 Avon. - - -	18	19 Landraille, - - -	4
10 Reindeer, - - -	18		

ON THE LAKES.

20 Confiance,	39	27 Hunter,	10
21 Burnt at York,)	38	28 Berresford,	14
22 Detroit,	20	29 Duke of Gloucester,	12
23 Lady Prevost,	16	30 Chippewa,	
24 Linnet,	16	31 Nancy,	2
25 On L. Champlain,)	11	32 Little Belt,	2
26 (Ditto)	11		

Of packets, which are king's vessels, generally first rate vessels, from 200 to 400 tons burthen, armed with 10 guns, we have captured the following, viz.

1 Ann.	11 Nocton.
2 Carteret.	12 Prince Adolphus.
3 Duke of Montrose.	13 Princess Amelia.
4 Express.	14 Princess Elizabeth.
5 Fox.	15 Princess Elizabeth.
6 Francis Freeling.	16 Swallow.
7 Lapwing.	17 Townsend.
8 Mary Ann.	18 Lady Mary Pelham.
9 Manchester.	19 Windsor Castle.
10 Morgiana.	

The preceding are public vessels; of private vessels, Niles' last list is 1551, which have been brought safe into port or destroyed. Including the recaptures, it may be safely stated that we have taken at least 3000 vessels from the enemy.

Before I proceed to give a more particular glimpse of our military and maritime victories, I will take the liberty to introduce my "*Persuasive to political moderation*," as it is in my view the most important part of our compilation, and lies nearest my heart.

A PERSUASIVE TO
POLITICAL MODERATION, &c.

IT is most assuredly the duty of every rational being, to do all possible good to his fellow creatures, not only with a disinterested view of profiting them, but also of pleasing our common Creator. And in order to do good to men, we must accommodate our admonitions to their passions, their prejudices, and their local prepossessions. To cause the sons of error to see its fatality ; docility, mildness, and moderation must be used. The grand work I desire to accomplish herein, is no less than a union of all republicans in the United States, for the prosperity of the republic. Was my power equal to my will, there should be but two parties in the United States ; namely, whig and tory ; the friend and the enemy of kingcraft. And though I would not advise my compatriots, when they feel the hour of their dissolution approaching, like the father of Hannibal, to take their children to the altar, and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's liberty and independence ; yet would I stimulate by the most reasonable argumentation, the votaries of republicanism, to inspire their children with a just detestation of monarchy, by presenting them with this, and similar publications for their serious investigation.

The present attempt, although romantic, is surely excusable. To break down party prejudice, to allay the impetuosity of political intolerance, requires a more powerful pen than mine. The late war has given all parties and politicians in our country, clearly to see the deleterious and gigantic evils which are most likely to be produced in our soli-

tary republic, by political animosity and party strife. Our representative republic and federal government was in danger from this cause, which will again and again produce the same effect, if not remedied or removed, and it is the duty of every friend to his country to use his individual endeavours to contribute his aid, in order to accomplish this great and important object. If there are worshippers of royalty in the federal ranks, I verily believe there are also domestic tyrants and intolerant politicians in the democratic ranks. I abhor the spirit of intolerance, both political and religious; appear in what party it may, it is most destructive to the public weal, and should be exploded as the bane of the republic. Surely the strong should always be ready to extend the hand of charity to the weak ! There are many, no doubt, true republicans in the federal ranks, and not a few fought, conquered, and died, in defence of the republic in the late war. These things should not be forgot by the powerful party. To each surviving hero, as well as those who are sleeping on a foreign shore, every tribute that is due to virtue and valour should be paid. Surely the worshippers of kings, dukes, marquises, earls, lords, and the Lord knows only what, are justly despised and execrated by all true republicans; in the federal as well as the democratic ranks. The servile worshippers of what they call "legitimate monarchs," in monarchical countries, I pity from my heart, because they are hood-winked from youth to age, by their tory scholastic and ecclesiastic teachers, so that they live and die the victims of political delusion ; but men who were bred and born in the United States, and with the best political information, practical, as well theoretical, and who, notwithstanding, long for, sigh

for, pray for, preach for, write for, and act for a royal government ; such men, if such men exist in the United States, I have far less charity for than for the highway robber : and I do verily believe, they are as hateful in the sight of Heaven, as they are in my sight, and equally an enemy of God and man. I feel nothing but love and charity to all mankind, my bitterest enemies included, and could circle them all in one kind embrace—these miscreants only excepted, if there be any such in the United States. Even the royalists who have slaughtered tens of thousands of the population of Spanish America, because, forsooth, they willed to be free, and fought for independence, I feel charity for, because they are blindly led on against their fellow citizens by the prejudice of education, and think they are fighting for, and supporting a just cause ; but not so with the American royalist. Who, I ask, can read the following recent intelligence from Spanish America, and not feel pity for the one party and detestation for the other :

Barbadoes, March 20.

INTERESTING DETAIL OF RECENT OCCURRENCES ON THE SPANISH MAIN.

“ We published on the 6th ult. important information received by the way of Curracoa, respecting the operations of the belligerent republicans and royalists, in the provinces of Venezuela and the Carraccas. The army of the royalist party, under Bovis, had taken Barcelona and Cumana, and was then marching on towards Maturin, near which place a battle had been fought, in which the republicans, under Bolivar, had sustained considerable loss.

A continuation of this intelligence is furnished by the Jamaica papers, brought up by H. M. ship Niemen, which arrived at this place on the 14th inst, and has since sailed for England.

The royalist general Morales, having laid siege to the town of Maturin, sent them the following summons :

“Inhabitants of Maturin.—The rapidity with which the arms of the Spanish monarchy have subdued the several provinces of Venezuela, is a clear proof that Divine Providence favours a just cause. You are the last that oppose to us resistance, which must prove fruitless. I do now offer to you an honourable capitulation.—Lay down your arms, and any one among you who do not wish to live under the royal government, shall have a passport to any colonial he may choose. The others, who consent to remain, shall have their rights and property respected.

THOMAS MORALES, *General in Chief.*”

To which summons, the following answer was returned by the commander in chief of the town of Maturin, Don Jose Francisco Bermudez :

“Since Maturin has raised the standard of liberty, the valour of its inhabitants has been conspicuous more than once ; they have sworn to bury themselves under the ashes of their town, rather than submit again to the despotic government that has for ages oppressed them :—that oath they now renew. You boast of your precarious advantages and of the large force under your command, which you say is more than adequate to compel us to surrender ; you may, General, put them in motion ; we are ready and disposed to face it, and if you conquer us, it shall be on ashes and dead bodies that

your victory shall be celebrated ; by consent of all those under my orders.

JOSE FRANCISCO BERMUDEZ."

Finding that the city of Maturin was determined to make manly resistance, general Morales made the requisite preparations, and immediately stormed the works of the republicans, and took possession of the place. In this sanguinary conflict the royalists are said to have lost about three thousand men, and the republicans upwards of four thousand.

Morales, who is the successor of the brutal Broves, who put all the inhabitants of Cumana to death (with the exception of eight families) caused himself to be proclaimed by the army, which destroyed Maturin, "Commander in chief," and all eastward from the capital, inclusive, is considered under his government ; whilst Valencia, Puerto, Cabello, and the territory to the westward, acknowledged general Cagigal as their chief."

Yet these royalists are angels compared to those in the United States, who were it not for the interposition of our mighty and merciful sovereign, would have produced the same reverse, the same desolation, the same degradation in the United States, as was experienced by the republicans of Maturin. O ! reader, pause a moment and reflect upon their anguish, and your recent narrow escape from similar wretchedness, and love, and thank, and praise your good king who delivered you therefrom.

The population of Massachusetts, although they have, through their legislature, opposed the general government, in the late sanguinary conflict, are "essentially republican : " they have been led astray from the path in which their fathers trod by the

wrong association of ideas exhibited before their intellectual eyes, by men who pant for power in the republic, and not as many suppose, royalty. I do not, I cannot believe that even the American born leaders of the federalists of New-England would erect a monarchical government on the ruins of our republic, if it was in their power. There may be some indeed, who are base and abominable enough to act thus, but I believe they are very few, and are chiefly foreigners; but I do contend that all federal republicans are bound to cashier such men when recognized in their ranks, or they should at least come out from among the eulogists of monarchy, who have the consummate effrontery to advocate directly or indirectly the "Divine right of kings," and the laws of primogenitureship in this free country. Let them rally under the standard of their country, that their children may participate the precious liberty their own fathers died to purchase for posterity. The Almighty has most indubitably a predilection for the United States as he had for his Israelitish theocracy, and the fact is clearly demonstrated in the late war; and it requires no spirit of divination to foresee that what the British navy is now, the American navy, though at present in its infancy, will be in following years. I will take the liberty to particularize a thought that this moment struck my mind, which will appear, no doubt, both chimerical and romantic—it is this: that the nations of Europe, who will not suffer the light of political knowledge to shine upon their minds, and will, forsooth, worship their wicked kings, popes, bishops, and priests, lords, dukes, earls, and marquises, will be left to dwindle into their primeval insignificance, and take a counter-march back to their original barbarian ignorance,

while our gracious sovereign will reserve these United States to be the asylum for all the individuals of Europe who wish to be free, and refuse to kiss the royal foot that kicks them, and support the episcopal hand that loads them with chains, and immures them in an inquisition. Thus, by importation, as well as by propagation, will our free, enlightened, and independent population be extended to South America on the one part, and the Pacific Ocean on the other. Although at present the people of Spanish America are permitted by Heaven to be unfortunate, and are forced to serve their oppressors, in order, when they are delivered therefrom, they may duly appreciate the intrinsic value of civil and religious liberty. Yet I firmly believe the day is not far distant when they will rise superior to their present tyrants, and become a sister republic, adopting our institutions and government. Thus, in my opinion, will all America be revolutionized, north and south, from the frigid to the torrid zone, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. Those who feel disposed to laugh at this (as they will think) premature hypothesis, will please to remember what the European nations were when the Roman commonwealth was in the full tide of its glory, and now contrast the one with the other: so great will be the dissimilarity between the European and American states in following years. The American nation will not only be the most potent and enlightened, but also the most singular nation that is, or ever was on earth; while the European villas will become jungels for wild beasts—the American wilderness will blossom like the rose—flourishing cities will be erected on the shores of the Pacific as on the Atlantic Ocean, and an inland passage established of three thousand miles between

them:—the natives thereof will be instructed, not by the votaries of bigotry and superstition, and the slaves of priest and king-craft, as the aborigines of Europe originally were, but by the free-born, the liberal, the enlightened sons of liberty and Columbia: and as our ships now plough the Atlantic, so will they in following years plough the Pacific Ocean.—Our land will extend to all climates, and our “*bits of striped bunting*” wave wherever the billows roll or winds can wave them: then will England be, at least in a naval point of view, what Carthage is now, and America what England is now. However, let this hypothesis be as it may, I devoutly pray that the light of religious and political knowledge may shine upon all men who wish to be free and independent, and who feel disposed to worship no king but the King of Heaven, and pay homage to no priest but our blessed Redeemer, the high priest of our holy religion. But to return:—I would beseech both of the great political parties in the United States, to learn from the forbearance of God to them to bear with one another: let the demo’s of the south, when they are about dealing political anathemas to their brethren of the east, let them remember Bunkers-hill, and be mild and moderate in their animadversions, and not punish or wish to punish the innocent with the guilty; and even the subsequent vice of a delinquent should not totally obliterate his antecedent virtue. Mild words and kind expostulations will metamorphosis an enemy to a friend, and vice versa, with bitter words of reproach and calumny.

A WORD

TO THE

Federalists of Massachusetts.

Perhaps no state in the union contributed more largely and invincibly to establish the liberty and independence of the United States than your state. Then let not the imperfection of the men in power cause you to oppose the government your fathers died to establish; use all constitutional means to correct abuses, but no violent means. He who is not willing to submit to a government established and supported by the majority, is not a true republican, profess what he may; and should not the federalists in power in Massachusetts use political moderation themselves, while they declaim against the intolerance of the democrats in power in the district of Columbia? Surely they should. A contrary line of conduct will have a direct tendency to hurl them from office, or otherwise cause their enterprising and valuable opponents to emigrate to other states more congenial to their principles, and favourable to their talents. This they have done and are still doing:—I mean emigrating from the eastern to the western states; and this is a very serious evil, and pregnant with the most fatal consequences to the eastern states, which I tremble to think of, much more to express.

From such fatal consequences good Lord deliver us. The federalists now in power in Massachusetts by acting intolerant, will give the lie in form to the assertions of all the federalists in the union, and be a burlesque on their collective pretensions. It will cause all people who have common sense to dread and despise them, because every body knows that

if all the state legislatures, opposed the general government as that of Massachusetts unhappily have done during the late war ; the republicans of the United States, would be this day in the same lamentable state as those of Spanish America now are in, and the bloody standard of despotism would now surmount the "*bits of striped bunting*" throughout the United States, and the last remains of civil and religious freedom would be exterminated from the face of the earth.

A WORD TO THE POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS IN GENERAL.

Your wealth, your numbers, your talents, your private virtues ; but above all, the distinguished, the honourable, the successful part you acted in the revolution, entitle you to a large share of influence in the national legislature.

This influence you have totally lost ; investigate and remove the cause that has produced this unpleasant and mortifying effect. You say the constitution of the United States is defective. If so, the proper mode of amendment is at hand, and ready provided ; let these defects be exhibited in a constitutional manner, and let the majority correct them, if real, and if only supposed, let the minority submit to the decision of the majority as they are in duty bound, agreeable to the fundamental principles of republicanism.

THE PEOPLE OF NEW-ENGLAND COLLECTIVELY,

I would entreat to remember the valour of their departed parents, and the guardian care of their heavenly Parent in "the times that tried men's souls," and show their gratitude by properly appreciating and protecting the liberty they purchased with their blood. Avaunt then, all party prejudices,

and let the sons of the north join their brethren of the south, in returning the grateful tribute of thanksgiving to our Almighty Sovereign, for the recent restoration of an honourable peace. Let us all rejoice in the happy result of the contest in which we were engaged. The rights and honour of the republic, have been maintained under peculiar disadvantages. The world has seen what we have done with one hand, and they know what we could do with both. The energies, the public spirit, the unexampled valour of the sons of liberty at a time of arduous trial, have been unfolded, and will, no doubt, in future guard us from the insult and injury which previously were heaped upon us by the belligerents till the cup of our patient endurance was full and running over. Let us all, now peace is restored, prove faithful to the federal union, reverence the laws, and look down local prejudice and political intolerance, seeing "we are all republicans, all federalists." Let all tories, monarchists and aristocrats in this free country, be considered as snakes in the grass, or like the dog in the manger. If they will not enjoy the blessings of civil liberty themselves, let them not at their peril attempt to rob their neighbours of this sacred blessing. And if they wish for royalty, let them cross the Atlantic, and there enjoy it in superabundance, and there worship their kings and priests as much as they choose. Oh! people of the United States, let us all with one accord recapitulate the mercies of our gracious King, that our hearts may be enflamed with supreme gratitude to him. I hear, or methinks I hear, the true American repeating the following soliloquy, or acknowledgment of the divine bounty to these United States, with sentiments of unfeigned gratitude.

“ Yes, I humbly acknowledge that no people on earth ought to feel greater obligations to celebrate the goodness of the great disposer of events, and of the destiny of nations, than the people of the United States. His kind Providence originally conducted them to one of the best portions of the dwelling place, allowed for the great family of the human race. He protected and cherished them, under all the difficulties and trials to which they were exposed in their early days. Under his fostering care, their habits, their sentiments, and their pursuits, prepared them for a transition in due time, for a state of independence and of self government. In the arduous struggle by which it was attained, they were distinguished by multiplied tokens of his benign interposition. During the interval which succeeded, he reared them into the strength, and endowed them with the resources, which have enabled them to assert their national rights, and to enhance their national character, in another arduous conflict, which is now happily terminated, by a peace and reconciliation with those who have been our enemies. And to the same Divine Author of every good and perfect gift, we are indebted for all those privileges and advantages, religious as well as civil, which are so richly enjoyed in this favoured land.

“ If there is a country on earth, since the days of the ancient Jews, that may be styled *happy*, it is the territory occupied and inhabited by the people of the United States of America. It is a country (including Louisiana) of great extent, embracing every desirable degree of climate, and containing all the varieties of soil. It produces in abundance all kinds of nourishing grain, vegetables, fruits, and mineral substances. Animals of every tribe flourish and luxuriate in its extensive pastures. Man

(by divine bounty) the Lord of the inferior creation here rears his head with becoming dignity.

“Unawed by the arbitrary mandate of a master, uncramped by the imperious will and command of a tyrant, he can call himself and his possessions *his own*. The operations of his mind are free; he can reason upon the subjects of religion and civil government and publish his sentiments without control; and choose his own religion and his own legislator; without being compelled to support a sect or profession he cannot with a good conscience embrace, or to obey a law that he has not by his representatives given his consent to.

“Other nations may be mentioned, who possess a fine climate, a rich soil, valuable produce of every kind; but divested of the civil and religious rights of man,

The poor inhabitant
Sighs, in the midst of nature's bounties curst,
And in the gen'rous vineyard dies for thirst!

“Where is the country (America excepted) that possesses a free representative government. Where is the country, that is not more or less encumbered with a civil establishment in religion. It is the peculiar excellence of the American Constitution, that it not only possesses a general representative government, but that every particular state has its own distinct legislature within itself. This preserves a proper equilibrium, answers every purpose of security, protection and defence, and seems to promise stability and long duration.—America has set an instructive example to the world, that religion may exist, may prosper and flourish, without the aid of a civil establishment. How many churches

have been erected, and are supported in this city, and elsewhere, by the voluntary donations and contributions of individuals. How pleasing, how exceedingly gratifying is it to a generous and philanthropic mind to behold them all on an equal footing—to think that the richest and most numerous sects enjoy no legal privileges or prerogatives above the smallest and the least opulent, that none are guarded by test or corporation acts, that none exist only by connivance or permission, that all are equally under the protection of the laws of the state, and that *intoleration* is unknown in this *happy country*.

“It was God who preserved and protected the first settlers in this country, when they were comparatively few, and struggling almost under unsurmountable difficulties. Under his guardian and fostering hand they grew up and flourished, and converted woods and deserts into fruitful lands. It was God who carried our countrymen honourably and successfully through the hard and difficult trials and conflicts of the revolutionary war. He *saved* them with a mighty *salvation*. He was the *shield of their help* and the *sword of their excellency*. It was God who inspired and directed their wise men to form good and estimable Constitutions, and establish a system of civil and religious liberty which may justly challenge the admiration of the world. It was the same almighty and merciful Being who *saved* us in the late war, who covered the heads of our dear countrymen in the day of battle, infused courage, skill and activity into the minds of our warriors by sea and land, and granted us so many splendid victories over our enemies. This *salvation* appears still the more *illustrious* when we take into consideration, that by a strange and unexpected revolution in the affairs of Europe, the most war-

like and best disciplined troops of a powerful nation, highly exasperated, were sent against us, and yet were foiled and defeated in repeated actions, by men lately raised and little accustomed to martial operations."

These are only a few of the many mercies and favours conferred upon our country by a kind Providence, for which may we ever prove grateful.

As our limits will not permit us to enlarge, we will briefly exhibit a glimpse or specimen of the American Victories on Land, on the Lakes, and on the Ocean: particularly the gallant defence of New-Orleans, of the frigate President, and the victory on Lake Erie. It would take a folio volume to contain a detailed account of all the distinguished victories that crowned the American arms in the late war; but as they are fresh in the memories of my readers in general, and as a volume is now publishing with a detailed account thereof, it will be superfluous for me to particularize more than a few, as a specimen of the valour and patriotism of the American people.

BATTLE OF NEW-ORLEANS.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Jackson, to the Secretary of War, dated, Camp, 4 miles below Orleans, 9th January, 1815.

SIR—During the days of the 6th and 7th, the enemy had been actively employed in making preparations for an attack on my lines. With infinite labour they had succeeded on the night of the 7th,

in getting their boats across from the lake to the river, by widening and deepening the canal on which they had effected their disembarkation. It had not been in my power to impede these operations by a general attack; added to other reasons, the nature of the troops under my command, mostly militia, rendered it too hazardous to attempt extensive *offensive* movements in an open country, against a numerous and well disciplined army. Although my forces, as to number, had been increased by the arrival of the Kentucky division, my strength had received very little addition; a small portion only of that detachment being provided with arms. Compelled thus to wait the attack of the enemy, I took every measure to repel it when it should be made, and to defeat the object he had in view. General Morgan, with the Orleans contingent, the Louisiana militia, and a strong detachment of the Kentucky troops, occupied an entrenched camp on the opposite side of the river, protected by strong batteries on the bank, erected and superintended by commodore Patterson.

In *my* encampment every thing was ready for action, when, early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy, after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced their columns on my right and left, to storm my entrenchments. I cannot speak sufficiently in praise of the firmness and deliberation with which my whole line received their approach—*more* could not have been expected from veterans inured to war.—For an hour, the fire of the small arms was as incessant and severe as can be imagined. The artillery, too, directed by officers who displayed equal skill and courage, did great execution. Yet the columns

of the enemy continued to advance with a firmness which reflects upon them the greatest credit. Twice the column which approached me on my left was repulsed by the troops of General Carroll, those of general Coffee, and a division of Kentucky militia, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. At length, however, cut to pieces, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded. The loss which the enemy sustained on this occasion, cannot be estimated at less than 1500 in killed, wounded and prisoners. Upwards of 300 have already been delivered over for burial; and my men are still engaged in picking them up within my lines and carrying them to the point where the enemy are to receive them.—This is in addition to the dead and wounded whom the enemy have been enabled to carry from the field, during and since the action, and to those who have since died of the wounds they received. We have taken about 500 prisoners, upwards of three hundred of whom are wounded, and a great part of them mortally. My loss has not exceeded, and I believe has not amounted to ten killed, and as many wounded. The entire destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence which at this moment took place on the other side of the river. Simultaneously with his advance upon my lines, he had thrown over in his boats a considerable force to the other side of the river. *These* having landed, were hardy enough to advance against the works of General Morgan; and, what is strange and difficult to account for, at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for with a confidence approaching to cer-

tainty, the Kentucky reinforcements, in whom so much reliance had been placed, ingloriously fled, drawing after them, by their example, the remainder of the forces : and thus yielding to the enemy that most important position. The batteries which had rendered me, for many days, the most important service, though bravely defended, were of course now abandoned ; not however until the guns had been spiked.

This unfortunate rout had totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy now occupied a position from which they might annoy us without hazard, and by means of which they might have been enabled to defeat, in a great measure, the efforts of our success on this side of the river. It became, therefore, an object of the first consequence to dislodge him as soon as possible. For this object all the means in my power, which I could with any safety use, were immediately put in preparation. Perhaps, however, it was owing somewhat to another cause that I succeeded even beyond my expectations. In negotiating the terms of a temporary suspension of hostilities to enable the enemy to bury their dead, and provide for their wounded, I had required certain propositions to be acceded to as a basis, among which this was one—that although hostilities should cease on *this* side of the river until 12 o'clock of this day, yet it was not to be understood that they should cease on the *other* side ; but that no reinforcements should be sent across by *either* army until the expiration of that day. His excellency major general Lambert begged time to consider of those propositions until 10 o'clock of to-day, and in the mean time re-crossed his troops. I need not tell you with how much eagerness I immedi-

ately regained possession of the position he had thus hastily quitted.

The enemy having concentrated his forces, may again attempt to drive me from my position by storm. Whenever he *does*, I have no doubt my men will act with their usual firmness, and sustain a character now become dear to them.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON,
Major General Commanding.



Head Quarters, left bank of the Mississippi.

Five miles below New Orleans, January 10, 1815.

SIR—I HAVE the honour to make the following report of the killed, wounded and prisoners taken at the battle of Laron's plantation, on the left bank of the Mississippi, on the night of the third of December, 1814, 7 miles below New Orleans.

Killed, left on the field of battle,	-	100
Wounded, left on the field of battle,		280
Prisoners taken—1 major, 2 lieutenants, 1 midshipman, 66 non-commissioned officers and privates,		
making a grand total of		400.

I have the honour to be, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

A. P. HAYNE, *Insp. Gen.*

*Major General Andrew Jackson, commanding
the Army of the Mississippi.*

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

*Copy of a Letter from a gentleman in N. Orleans,
to a member of Congress.*

New Orleans, January 13, 1815.

DEAR SIR—KNOWING the interest you must feel in the movements of the enemy in this quarter, I will now continue my account up to this date. In my last I mentioned a reinforcement daily expected by the enemy, which I now understand was at that time actually received by them at Cat Island, having arrived in a fleet of twenty-one sail, said to be from Portsmouth.—This force is said to consist of 3000 men, and to be commanded by gen. Lambert, and probably forms the first brigade of their present army. On the 6th these troops were disembarked at the Bayou Benvenu. The enemy had now remained quiet for three or four days, keeping us in a state of uneasy suspense and fearful uncertainty. During this ominous interval, part of their forces was employed in preparing scaling ladders, and collecting fascines (made of sugar canes) for their intended assault upon our lines, while others were digging a canal, communicating with that through which they entered, and extended to the levee, which, on the evening of the 7th, was cut through to admit the river. Through this canal they floated or dragged 24 of their smaller boats, supposed to contain 25 men each, and thus transported about 600 men to the opposite side of the river, some distance below the spot where we had constructed our batteries. These troops, under the command of colo-

nel Thornton, were intended to make a dash at our batteries, and create a diversion on that side of the river, while the main attack was carried on this side.

Accordingly, before day-light, on the morning of the 8th, they silently drew out a large force to storm our lines, their columns advancing unperceived in the obscurity of the morning, to within about half a mile of our camp, where they met, and drove in our piquet guard. About day-break they advanced with great vivacity to the entrenchments, led gallantly on by their officers up to the very muzzles of our guns. Some of their men penetrated into our lines, where they were immediately killed or taken prisoners; many fell mounting the breast works; others upon the works themselves, and the ditch in front, was, in many places, literally filled with dead and wounded. The roar of artillery from our lines was incessant, while an unremitted rolling fire was kept up from our muskets. The atmosphere was filled with sheets of fire, and volumes of smoke. For an hour and a quarter the enemy obstinately continued the assault; fresh men constantly arriving to fill up their lines, thinned by our fire. Their determined perseverance and steady valour, were worthy a better cause; nor did their troops falter, until almost all the officers who led them on, had fallen. They then retreated, leaving from 1500 to 2000 in killed, wounded and prisoners—in this number are included thirty-nine officers. On our side the loss was confined to about 20 men, 7 only of whom were killed. Though our extreme right was attacked with great vivacity, yet the principal assault was made on our left, where General Coffee's brigade of riflemen were stationed, and the carnage there was prodigious.

Our men, covered by their breastworks, took steady and deliberate aim, and almost every shot told. The enemy drew out eight regiments to the attack, animated by the presence of their commander in chief, Packenham, and led on by generals Gibbs and Kean. The two former were killed, and the last general Kean was wounded, they acknowledge the loss of 3000 men in this conflict.

An Interesting account of the Naval Conflict on
LAKE ERIE.

COMMODORE PERRY arrived at Erie in June, with five small vessels, from Black Rock.—The Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost, were cruising off Long Point to intercept him—he passed them in the night unperceived. The Lawrence and Niagara were then on the stocks—every exertion was made to expedite their building and equipment, and early in August they were ready to sail. But it was necessary to pass the bar at the entrance of the harbour, over which there was but six feet water, and the brigs drew nine. The British fleet appeared off the harbour, for the purpose of preventing our's from going to the *lake*!—The means employed by our officers to take the brigs over the bar, was ingenious and deserve mention. Two large scows, fifty feet long, ten feet wide, and eight feet deep, were prepared—they were first filled with water and then floated along side one of the vessels in a parallel direction; they were then secured by means of large pieces of hewn timber placed athwart ship, with both ends projecting from the port

holes across the scows; the space between the timbers and the boat, being secured by other pieces properly arranged; the water was then bailed from the scows, thereby giving them an astonishing lifting power. It was thus that the bar was passed, before the enemy had taken the proper steps to oppose it. One obstacle was surmounted, but the fleet was not in a condition to seek the enemy at Malden. There was not at this time more than half sailors enough to man the fleet. However, a number of Pennsylvania militia having volunteered their services, the Commodore made a short cruise off Long Point, more perhaps, for the purpose of exercising his men, than seeking an enemy.

About the last of August Commodore Perry left Erie, to co-operate with general Harrison in the reduction of Malden. He anchored off the mouth of Sandusky river, and had an interview with general Harrison, who furnished him with about seventy volunteers, principally Kentuckians, to serve as marines on board the fleet. Capt. Dobben, in the Ohio, was ordered to return to Erie for provisions. The Amelia had been left there for want of men to man her. Exclusive of these he had nine sail, mounting in all fifty-four guns. The British fleet at Malden, consisted of six sail, and mounting sixty-six guns.

Commodore Perry appeared before Malden, offered battle, reconnoitered the enemy and retired to Put-in-Bay, thirty-five miles distant from his antagonist. Both parties remained a few days inactive; but their repose was that of the lion.

On the morning of the 10th September, at sunrise, the enemy were discovered bearing down from Malden for the evident purpose of attacking our squadron, then at anchor in Put-in-Bay. Not a mo-

ment was to be lost. Our squadron immediately got under way, and stood out to meet the British fleet, which at this time had the weather gage. At 10 A. M. the wind shifted from S. W. to S. E. which brought our squadron to windward. The wind was light, the day beautiful—not a cloud obscured the horizon. The line was formed at 11, and Commodore Perry caused an elegant flag, which he had privately prepared, to be hoisted at the mast head of the *Lawrence*; on this flag was painted, in characters legible to the whole fleet, the dying words of the immortal LAWRENCE :—"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP." Its effect is not to be described—every heart was electrified—the crews cheered—the exhilarating can was passed. Both fleets appeared eager for the conflict, on the result of which so much depended. At 15 minutes before 12, the *Detroit*, the head-most ship of the enemy, opened upon the *Lawrence*, which for ten minutes, was obliged to sustain a well directed and heavy fire, from the enemy's two large ships, without being able to return it with carronades; at five minutes before 12 the *Lawrence* opened upon the enemy—the other vessels was ordered to support her, but the wind was at this time too light to enable them to come up. Every brace and bowline of the *Lawrence* being soon shot away, she became unmanageable, and in this situation she sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and but a small part of her crew left unhurt upon deck.

At half past two the wind increased and enabled the *Niagara* to come into close action—the gunboats took a nearer position. Commodore Perry left his ship in charge of Lt. Yarnel, and went on board the *Niagara*. Just as he reached that

vessel, the flag of the Lawrence came down; the crisis had arrived. Capt. Elliot at this moment anticipated the wishes of the commodore, by volunteering his services to bring the schooners into close action.

At forty-five minutes past two the signal was made for close action. The Niagara being little injured, and her crew fresh, the commodore determined to pass through the enemy's line; he accordingly bore up and passed ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, pouring a terrible raking fire into them from the starboard guns, and on the Chippeway and Little Belt, from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The small vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, kept up a well directed and destructive fire. The action now raged with the greatest fury—the Queen Charlotte having lost her commander and several of her principal officers, in a moment of confusion got foul of the Detroit—in this situation the enemy in their turn had to sustain a tremendous fire without the power of returning it with much effect; the carnage was horrible—the flags of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, were struck in rapid succession. The brig Hunter, and schooner Chippeway, were soon compelled to follow the example. The Little Belt attempted to escape to Malden, but she was pursued by two of the gun-boats and surrendered about three miles distant from the scene of action.

The writer of this account, in company with five others, arrived at the head of Put-in-Bay island, on the evening of the 9th, and had a view of the action at the distance of only ten miles. The spectacle was truly grand and awful. The firing was incessant for the space of three hours, and continued at short in-

tervals forty-five minutes longer. In less than one hour after the battle began, most of the vessels of both fleets were enveloped in a cloud of smoke, which rendered the issue of the action uncertain, till the next morning, when we visited the fleet in the harbour on the opposite side of the island. The reader will easily judge of our solicitude to learn the result. There is no sentiment more painful than suspense, when it is excited by the uncertain issue of an event like this.

If the wind had continued at S. W. it was the intention of Admiral Barclay to have boarded our squadron; for this purpose he had taken on board his fleet about two hundred of the famous 41st regiment; they acted as marines and fought bravely, but nearly two-thirds of them were either killed or wounded.

The carnage on board the prizes was prodigious—they must have lost two hundred in killed besides wounded. The sides of the Detroit and Queen Charlotte were shattered from bow to stern; there was scarcely room to place one's hand on their larboard sides without touching the impression of a shot—a great many balls, canister and grape, were found lodged in their bulwarks, which were too thick to be penetrated by our carronades unless within pistol shot distance. Their masts were so much shattered that they fell overboard soon after they got into the bay.

The loss of the Americans was severe, particularly on board the Lawrence. When her flag was struck she had but nine men fit for duty remaining on deck. Her sides were completely riddled by the shot from the long guns of the British ships. Her deck, the morning after the conflict, when I first went on board, exhibited a scene that defies descrip-

tion—for it was literally covered with blood, which still adhered to the plank in clots—brains, hair and fragments of bones were still sticking to the rigging and sides. The surgeons were still busy with the wounded—enough! horror appalled my senses.

Among the wounded were several brave fellows, each of whom had lost a leg or an arm—they appeared cheerful and expressed a hope that they had done their duty. Rome and Sparta would have been proud of these heroes.

It would be invidious to particularize instances of individual merit, where every one so nobly performed his part. Of the nine seamen remaining unhurt at the time the *Lawrence* struck her flag, five were immediately promoted for their unshaken firmness in such a trying situation. The most of these had been in the actions with the *Gurriere* and *Java*.

Every officer of the *Lawrence*, except the commodore and his little brother, a promising youth, 13 years old, were either killed or wounded.

The efficacy of the gun-boats was fully proved in this action, and the sterns of all the prizes bear ample testimony of the fact. They took raking positions and galled the enemy severely. The *Lady Prevost* lost twelve men before either of the brigs fired on her. Their fire was quick and precise. Let us hear the enemy. The general order of adjutant general Baynes, contains the following words: “His (Perry’s) numerous gun boats, (four,) which had proved the greatest annoyance during the action, were all uninjured.”

The undaunted bravery of Admiral Barclay entitled him to a better fate; to the loss of the day was superadded grievous and dangerous wounds. He had before lost an arm; it was now his hard fortune to lose the use of the other, by a shot which

carried away the blade of the right shoulder ; a canister shot made a violent contusion in his hip ; his wounds were for some days considered mortal. Every possible attention was paid to his situation. When com. Perry sailed for Buffaloe, he was so far recovered that he took passage on board our fleet. The fleet touched at Erie. The citizens saw the affecting spectacle of Harrison and Perry leading the wounded British Hero, still unable to walk without help, from the beach to their lodgings.

On board of the Detroit, twenty-four hours after her surrender, were found snugly stowed away in the hold, two Indian Chiefs, who had the courage to go on board at Malden, for the purpose of acting as sharp shooters to kill our officers. One had the courage to ascend into the round top and discharged his piece, but the whizzing of shot, splinters, and bits of rigging, soon made the place too warm for him—he descended faster than he went up ; at the moment he reached the deck, the fragments of a seaman's head struck his comrade's face, and covered it with blood and brains. He vociferated the savage interjection "*quoth !*" and both sought safety below.

The British officers had domesticated a *bear* at Malden. *Bruin* accompanied his *comrades* to battle—was on the deck of the Detroit during the engagement, and escaped unhurt.

The killed of both fleets were thrown overboard as fast as they fell. Several were washed ashore upon the island and the main during the gales that succeeded the action.

Com. Perry treated the prisoners with humanity and indulgence ; several Canadians having wives at Malden, were permitted to visit their families on parole.

The British were superior in the *length* and *number* of their guns, as well as in the number of men. The American fleet was manned with a motley set of beings, Europeans, Africans, Americans from every part of the United States. Full one fourth were *blacks*. I saw one *Russian*, who could not speak a word of English. They were brave—and who could be otherwise under the command of Perry?

STATEMENT OF THE FORCE OF THE BRITISH SQUADRON.

Ship Detroit	19 guns 1 on pivot and 2 howitzers.
Queen Charlotte	17 do. 1 do.
Schr. Lady Prevost	13 do. 1 do.
Brig Hunter	10 do.
Sloop Little Belt	3 do.
Schr. Chippeway	1 do. and 2 swivels.
<hr/>	
63 guns.	

STATEMENT OF THE FORCE OF THE UNITED STATES' SQUADRON.

Brig Lawrence	20 guns
Niagara	20 do.
Caladonia	3 do.
Schr. Ariel	4 do. (1 burst early in the action)
Scorpion	2 do.
Somers	2 do. and 2 swivels.
Sloop Trippe	1 do.
Schr. Tigress	1 do.
Porcupine	1 do.
<hr/>	
54 guns.	

VICTORY BY LAND AND WATER.

DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH ARMY AT PLATTSBURG.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Macomb to his Father in Albany, dated

Fort Moreau, September 12th, 1814.

My dear Father,—The British army under Sir George Prevost, consisting of four brigades, each commanded by a major-general of experience—a light corps and squadron of dragoons, and an immense train of artillery, invested us for six days, during which period our troops in small parties skirmished with them and took prisoners and killed many. Yesterday they opened their batteries on us with bombs, 24 prs. howitzers and rockets; but we silenced the whole by six in the evening.

Their fleet attacked ours at the same time, and after an engagement of two hours their large vessels all struck to our gallant commodore. The gallies ran off. The British commodore was slain, and the killed and wounded is numerous. Our loss is one lieutenant, and 15 killed, and one lieutenant, and 30 men wounded.

The British army raised the siege last night or rather this morning, at 2 o'clock; and are now in full retreat, leaving on the field their wounded and sick. Sir George has requested me to treat them with humanity and kindness. Our whole force does not exceed 1500 effectives.

I have sent the militia and my light troops in pursuit—they are constantly taking prisoners and sending in deserters—I am in hopes of destroying at least one third of the British army. I am in

perfect health. My poor troops are the remnant of Gen. Izard's army, invalids and convalescents, except about 600 men.

I am in haste, &c.

ALEXANDER MACOMB.

Extract to the Editor of the Aurora, dated

Burlington, September 12, 1814.

“Yesterday, after an action of two hours, 5 minutes, Macdonough beat and captured the British fleet, of a much superior force, on Lake Champlain—and this morning, at 2 o'clock, sir George Prevost raised the siege and abandoned the field, leaving his dead and wounded.”

Capture of the Frigate President.

OF all our conflicts on the ocean in the late war, I consider that in which this frigate was taken as the most heroic on the part of Commodore Decatur. Although the *lying English journals boldly and unblushingly* assert that the President was captured by the Endymion; and the merchants of Bermuda, presented captain Hope, of the above frigate, with a service of silver plate for so doing, which he had the *meanness* to accept. Notwithstanding these mental and vocal *lies*, it is a stubborn fact that the Endymion was *silenced, dismantled, and fairly BEATEN* by the President.

“With the exception of the alien enemies amongst us, who have been naturalized, in order to be spies, all persons heard of the event with mingled emotions of pride and regret—pride that

the honour of our flag was gloriously sustained, and that the flag was not levelled to an equal foe—regret that such skill and courage had such fearful odds to contend against, and that so many brave fellows fell in such an unequal conflict.

This is the *third* frigate that the enemy have taken from us—the *Chesapeake* by a vessel of superior force; the *Essex* by two vessels carrying twice as many guns as she did; and the *President* by three frigates and a 74—all of them after long and bloody actions.

We, on the other hand, have captured, *three* frigates, not with *squadrons*, but with *single ships*, of nearly, if not quite equal force; the *Guerriere*, in a few minutes, and the *Macedonian*, in a few minutes, and the *Java*, after an action comparatively short, when contrasted with those in which the enemy succeeded.

The honour of our flag, and our naval superiority, ship to ship, far from being sullied or doubted, are in this last instance exalted and confessed; Europe will hear with astonishment, that a single frigate, just out of port, silenced one frigate, and was in the act of silencing the second, when the broadsides of another frigate and a 74 were found necessary in order to capture her.

It would have been expecting too much, if one of the frigates, the largest, had claimed and taken the honour of single combat—but if it had done so, and had triumphed, the victory would have been a proud one; but very different is the event, it is such a triumph as brutal force may at any time enjoy over a comparatively weak and unprepared antagonist.”

OFFICIAL.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Decatur, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated.

H. B. M. ship Endymion, at sea, January 18, 1815.

SIR,—THE painful duty of detailing to you the particular causes which preceded and led to the capture of the late United States' frigate President, by a squadron of his B. Majesty's ships, (as per margin,) has devolved upon me. In my communication of the 14th I made known to you my intention of proceeding to sea on that evening. Owing to some mistake of the pilots, the ship in going out grounded on the bar, where she continued to strike heavily for an hour and a half; although she had broken several of her rudder-braces, and had received such other material injury as to render her return into port desirable, I was unable to do so from the strong westerly wind which was then blowing. It being now high water, it became necessary to force her over the bar before the tide fell, in this we succeeded by ten o'clock, when we shaped our course along the shore of Long Island for 50 miles, and then steered S. E. by E. At 5 o'clock, three ships were discovered ahead; we immediately hauled up the ship and passed two miles to the northward of them. At day-light we discovered four ships in chase, one on each quarter, and two astern, the leading ship of the enemy a razee—he commenced a fire upon us, but without effect. At meridian the wind became light and baffling, we had increased our distance from the razee, but the next ship

astern, which was also a large ship, had gained and continued to gain upon us considerably ; we immediately occupied all hands to lighten ship, by starting water, cutting away the anchors, throwing overboard provisions, cables, spars, boats, and every article that could be got at, keeping the sails wet from the royals down. At 3 we had the wind quite light ; the enemy who had now been joined by a brig, had a strong breeze and were coming up with us rapidly. The *Endymion* (mounting fifty guns, twenty-four pounders on the main deck) had now approached us within gun-shot, and had commenced a fire with her bow guns, which we returned from our stern. At 5 o'clock she had obtained a position on our starboard quarter, within half point blank shot, on which neither our stern nor quarter guns would bear ; we were now steering E. by N. the wind N. W. I remained with her in this position for half an hour, in the hope that she would close with us on our broadside, in which case I had prepared my crew to board, but from his continuing to yaw his ship to maintain his position, it became evident that to close was not his intention.—Every fire now cut some of our sails or rigging. To have continued our course under these circumstances, would have been placing it in his power to cripple us, without being subject to injury himself, and to have hauled up more to the northward to bring our stern guns to bear, would have exposed us to his raking fire. It was now dusk, when I determined to alter my course south, for the purpose of bringing the enemy abeam, and although their ships astern were drawing up fast, I felt satisfied I should be enabled to throw him out of the combat before they could come up, and was

not without hopes if the night proved dark, (of which there was every appearance) that I might still be enabled to effect my escape. Our opponent kept off at the same instant we did, and our fire commenced at the same time.—We continued engaged, steering south with steering sails set, two hours and a half, when we completely succeeded in dismantling her. Previously to her dropping entirely out of the action, there were intervals of minutes when the ships were broadside and broadside, in which she did not fire a gun. At this period (half past 8 o'clock) although dark, the other ships of the squadron were in sight, and almost within gun-shot. We were of course compelled to abandon her. In resuming our former course for the purpose of avoiding the squadron, we were compelled to present our stern to our antagonist; but such was his state, though we were thus exposed and within range of his guns for half an hour, that he did not avail himself of this favourable opportunity of raking us. We continued this course until eleven o'clock, when two fresh ships of the enemy (the *Pomona* and *Tenedos*) had come up. The *Pomona* had opened her fire on the larboard bow, within musket-shot; the other about two cables length astern, taking a raking position on our quarter; and the rest, (with the exception of the *Endymion*) within gun shot. Thus situated, with about one fifth of my crew killed and wounded, my ship crippled, and a more than fourfold force opposed to me, without a chance of escape left, I deemed it my duty to surrender.

It is with emotions of pride I bear testimony of the gallantry and steadiness of every officer and man I had the honour to command on this occa-

sion, and I feel satisfied that the fact of their having beaten a force equal to themselves, in the presence and almost under the guns of so vastly a superior force, when too, it was almost self-evident, that whatever their exertions might be, they must ultimately be captured, will be taken as evidence of what they would have performed, had the force opposed to them been in any degree equal.

It is with extreme pain I have to inform you that lieutenants Babbit, Hamilton, and Howell fell in the action. They have left no officers of superior merit behind them.

If, sir, the issue of this affair had been fortunate, I should have felt it my duty to have recommended to your attention lieutenants Shubrick and Gallagher. They maintained throughout the day the reputation they had acquired in former actions.

Lieut. Twiggs, of the marines, displayed great zeal, his men were well supplied and their fire incomparable, so long as the enemy continued within musket range.

Midshipman Randolph, who had charge of the forecastle division, managed it to my entire satisfaction.

From Mr. Robinson who was serving as a volunteer, I received essential aid, particularly after I was deprived of the services of the master, and the severe loss I had sustained in my officers on the quarter-deck.

Of our loss in killed and wounded, I am unable at present to give you a correct statement; the attention of the surgeon being so entirely occupied with the wounded, that he was unable to make out a correct return when I left the President, nor shall I be able to make it until our arrival in port we having parted company with the squadron yesterday. The enclosed list, with the exception I

fear of its being short of the number will be found correct.

For twenty-four hours after the action it was nearly calm, and the squadron were occupied in repairing the crippled ships. Such of the crew of the President as were not badly wounded, were put on board the different ships: myself and a part of my crew were put on board this ship. On the 17th we had a gale from the eastward, when this ship lost her bowsprit, fore and mainmasts, and mizen topmast, all of which were badly wounded, and was in consequence of her disabled condition, obliged to throw overboard all of her upper deck guns; her loss in killed and wounded must have been very great. I have not been able to ascertain the extent. Ten were buried after I came on board, (36 hours after the action;) the badly wounded, such as are obliged to keep their cots, occupy the starboard side of the gun-deck, from the cabin bulk head to the mainmast. From the crippled state of the President's spars, I feel satisfied she could not have saved her masts, and I feel serious apprehensions for the safety of our wounded left on board.

It is due to captain Hope to state, that every attention has been paid by him to myself and officers that have been placed on board his ship, that delicacy and humanity could dictate.

I have the honour to be with much respect, sir,
your obedient servant,

STEPHEN DECATUR.

*The hon. Benjamin W. Crowninshield,
Secretary of the Navy.*

British Squadron referred to in the Letter.

Majestic, razee; Endymion, Pomone, Tenedos, Despatch, brig-

Copy of a letter from Com. Alexander Murray, president of a court of inquiry, lately held at New-York, to investigate the causes of the capture of the United States' frigate *President*, to the secretary of the navy, dated,

New-York, April, 17, 1815.

" Sir,—I herewith transmit to you the result of the court of inquiry, respecting the capture of the frigate *President*, with the opinion of the court.

" We have been more minute in our investigation than might at first view have been deemed necessary; but as there has been a diversity of opinions prevailing among the British commanders,

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

I feel inclined to give a particular account of the above conflict, as the foul and false tory journals of England publish to the world that the *President* was fairly captured by the *Endymion*, than which a more impudent falsehood cannot be propagated. I have copies of our other most distinguished naval engagements, but postpone publishing them to make room for Mr. Cobbett's excellent letters. I feel a peculiar predilection for this gentleman (to whom I presented for publication the first piece I ever wrote for the press, seventeen years ago) because I know of no other journalist in all Europe who is either able or willing to vindicate injured innocence, and advocate the rights of man. Surely the whig citizens of London should collect among themselves and refund to this injured patriot the one thousand pounds he paid the king for declaring the truth. Who can view with his intellectual eyes the debased and degraded state of the population of all Europe, without political, social, or even intellectual liberty or rights, and not venerate the man who endeavours to ameliorate the condition of perishing old age and starving infancy with the halter dangling before his eyes, held by the spirit of despotism in one hand, while in the other glitters the sword of vengeance, with the word *treason* written thereon. Many of our republican champions in the United States would lie dormant in England under similar discouragements.

concerned in her capture, it was desirable in our view, to lay before the world in the most correct manner, every circumstance that led to that event,

Indeed both England and America have cause to thank Mr. Cobbett, as also Mr. Carey, author of the "OLIVE BRANCH," who, under God, were the primary means of bringing the late war to a speedy conclusion. Mr. Cobbett clearly sees the wretched slavery of the Europeans, while the knot of imperial, royal, and right honourable villains at the Vienna congress are prating about the liberty of Europe, and the same moment are sharing the plunder thereof, and dividing the people among them like a herd of swine. And there are tory villains in the United States will reverberate the golden lies of these royal wretches. Their tyranny and duplicity is enough to force a curse from holiness itself. I have seen with my own eyes the human species in Prussia, Russia, Ireland, and Spain, degraded almost as much as in Africa or the West-Indies, and this Mr. Cobbett is not afraid to testify.

"The spirit of rapacity and plunder which prevailed in the dark ages of barbarism in the 11th century, is as much the spirit of the governments of the coalesced powers at this day.

"We have seen it in the repeated plunder and partition of Poland—in the war maintained for 25 years against France—and recently soberly debated at Vienna.

"The Germans, whether it be under the dominion of Austria or Prussia, are as much slaves as the Portuguese, or Spaniards, or the negroes of Damahoy or Mozambique; or as the negroes on the English plantations of Jamaica and Barbadoes.

"The Russians have literally *no people*: the men and women are like the oxen and hogs of the plantation, a part of the live stock; for example, when the empress Catharine rewarded the service of her *male prostitutes*, it was by gifts of large estates; thus five brothers of the name of *Orloff*, received as presents *seventeen* millions of roubles in money (a rouble is about half a dollar) and 45,000 *peasants*, that is, *serfs*, *slaves*, *white negroes*. Another *man-whore* of the name of *Vassilitchikoff*, for 22 months services, received 7000 Russians, *white negroes*.

which has afforded another high proof of American heroism, and so highly honourable to her commander, officers and crew, that every American citizen must feel a pride in knowing that our flag has been so nobly defended."

The minutes of the court having been read and approved, the court was cleared, and, after due deliberation, resolved to express the sentiments and opinions of the members, on the matters submitted to them as follows :

In execution of the orders of the honourable the secretary of the navy, we have (with the exception of two very young midshipmen) examined every officer belonging to the *President*, within the reach of the court, who survived the late glorious contest between the frigate *President* and a squadron of his Britannic Majesty.

We are of opinion that the primary cause of the loss of the *President*, was her running on the bar as she was leaving this port. The violence and continuance of the shocks she received for an hour and a half or more, considering that she was laden with stores and provisions for a very long cruize, could not but have injured her greatly, and must have impeded her sailing. Her hogged and twisted appearance after she arrived at Bermuda, must have been the effects of this unfortunate accident.—We are convinced that it was owing to this that the enemy were able to overtake her.

The striking of the *President* on the bar cannot be imputed to the fault of any officer who was attached to her ; on the contrary, we think every possible precaution was taken, and the utmost exertions were used by her commander and officers, to ensure her safe passage over the bar, and to relieve her after she had struck. The accident was occasioned

by some mistake in placing the boats, which were to serve as beacons for the President, through a channel always dangerous for a vessel of her draught, but particularly so at such a time as she was obliged to select for passing it, when the land marks could not be distinguished.

From the time that the superiority of the enemy's force was ascertained, and it became the duty of the President to evade it, we are convinced that the most proper measures were pursued, and that she made every possible effort to escape. No means, in our opinion, were so likely to be attended with success, as those which were adopted by commodore Decatur. Any suggestions that different measures would have been more proper, or more likely to accomplish the object, we think, are without foundation, and may be the result of ignorance, or the dictates of a culpable ambition, or of envy.

We consider the management of the President from the time the chase commenced till her surrender, as the highest evidence of the experience, skill, and resources of her commander, and of the ability and seamanship of her officers and crew. We fear that we cannot express in a manner that will do justice to our feelings, our admiration of the conduct of commodore Decatur, and his officers and crew, while engaged with the enemy, threatened with a force so superior, possessing advantages which must have appeared to render all opposition unavailing, otherwise than as it might affect the honour of our navy, and the character of our seamen. They fought with a spirit which no prospect of success could have heightened, and, if victory had met its common reward, the *Endymion's* name would have been added to our lists of naval conquests. In this

unequal conflict the enemy gained a ship, but the victory was ours. When the President was obliged to leave the Endymion to avoid the other ships, which were fast coming up, the Endymion was subdued; and if her friends had not been at hand to rescue her, she was so entirely disabled that she soon must have struck her flag. A proof of this is, that she made no attempt to pursue the President or to annoy her by a single shot while the President was within her reach, when, with the hope of escape from the overwhelming force which was nearly upon her, the President presented her stern to the Endymion's broadside. A further proof that the Endymion was conquered is, the shattered condition in which she appeared, while the President in the contest with her had sustained but little injury; and the fact that the Endymion did not join the squadron till many hours after the President had been surrounded by the other four enemy's ships, and had surrendered to them, is strong corroborative evidence of the disabled state in which the President left the Endymion.

We think it due to commodore Decatur and his heroic officers and crew, to notice the proposition he made to board the Endymion, when he found she was coming up, and the manner in which this proposition was received by his gallant crew. Such a design, at such a time, could only have been conceived by a soul without fear, and approved with enthusiastic cheerings by men regardless of danger. Had not the enemy perceived the attempt, and availed himself of the power he had in the early part of the action to shun the approach of the President, the American stars might now be shining on the Endymion. In the subsequent part of the engagement the enemy's squadron was

too near to permit the execution of this design, and the disabled state of the *Endymion* would have frustrated the principal object which commodore Decatur had in making so bold an attempt, which was to avail himself of the *Endymion's* superior sailing to escape with his crew from his pursuers.

We conclude by expressing our opinion that commodore Decatur, as well during the chase as through his contest with the enemy, evinced great judgment and skill, perfect coolness, the most determined resolution and heroic courage. That his conduct, and the conduct of his officers and crew, is highly honourable to them, and to the American navy, and deserves the warmest gratitude of their country. That they did not give up their ship till she was surrounded and overpowered by a force so superior that further resistance would have been unjustifiable and a useless sacrifice of the lives of brave men.

The order of the secretary of the navy requires us to express an opinion as to the conduct of the officers and crew of the *President* after the capture. The testimony of all the witnesses concurs in enabling us to give it our decided approbation.

By the Court,

ALEX. MURRAY, *Pres't.*

True copy from the original.

CADWALADER D. COLDEN,

Judge Advocate.

Navy Department, April 20, 1815.

APPROVED—

E. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS
OF A FEW OF
THE AMERICAN VICTORIES,
ON THE OCEAN,
DURING THE LATE WAR.

United States' Frigate Constitution, off Boston Light.

August 30, 1812.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you that on the 19th instant, at 2, P. M. being in latitude 41 deg. 41 min. and longitude 55 deg. 48 min. with the Constitution under my command, a sail was discovered from the mast-head, bearing E. by S. or E. S. E. but at such a distance we could not tell what she was. All sail was instantly made in chase, and soon found we came up with her. At 3. P. M. could plainly see that she was a ship on the star-board tack under easy sail, close on a wind—at half past 3, P. M. made her out to be a frigate—continued the chase until we were within about three miles, when I ordered the light sails taken in, the courses hauled up, and the ship cleared for action. At this time the chase had backed her main-top-sail, waiting for us to come down. As soon as the Constitution was ready for action, I bore down with an intention to bring him to close action immediately : but on our coming within gun shot, she gave us a broadside, and filled away and wore, giving us a broadside on the other tack, but without effect, her shot falling short. She continued wearing and manœuvring for about three quarters of an hour, to

get a raking position—but finding she could not, she bore up and run under her top-sails and jib, with the wind on the quarter. I immediately made sail to bring the ship up with her, and at five minutes before 6, P. M. being along side within half pistol shot, we commenced a heavy fire from all our guns, double-shotted with round and grape, and so well directed were they, and so warmly kept up, that in 16 minutes her mizen-mast went by the board, and his main-yard in the slings, and the hull, rigging, and sails, very much torn to pieces. The fire was kept up with equal warmth for 15 minutes longer, when his main-mast and fore-mast went, taking with them every spar, excepting the bowsprit; on seeing this we ceased firing; so that in thirty minutes after we got fairly along side of the enemy, she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull below and above water so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down.

After informing that so fine a ship as the *Guerriere*, commanded by an able and experienced officer, had been totally dismasted and otherwise cut to pieces, so as to make her not worth towing into port, in the short space of 30 minutes, you can have no doubt of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command. It only remains, therefore, for me to assure you, that they all fought with great bravery; and it gives me great pleasure to say, that from the smallest boy in the ship, to the oldest seaman, not a look of fear was seen. They all went into action giving three cheers, and requesting to be laid close alongside the enemy.

Enclosed I have the honour to send you a list of the killed and wounded on board the *Constitution*, and a report of the damages she sustained—also a list of

killed and wounded on board the enemy, with his quarter bill, &c. I have the honour to be, with very great respect, sir, your obedient servant,

ISAAC HULL.

The Hon. Paul Hamilton, &c. &c.

Copy of a letter from Captain Jones, late of the United States' Sloop of War the Wasp, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated New-York, Nov. 24, 1812.

SIR,

I here avail myself of the first opportunity of informing you of the occurrences of our cruize which terminated in the capture of the Wasp on the 18th of October, by the Poictiers of seventy-four guns, while a wreck from the damages received in an engagement with the British sloop of war Frolic of twenty-two guns; sixteen of them thirty-two pound carronades, and four twelve pounders on the main-deck, and two twelve pounders, carronades, on the top-gallant-fore-castle, making her superior to us by four twelve pounders. The Frolic had struck to us, and was taken possession of, about two hours before our surrendering to the Poictiers.

We had left the Delaware on the 13th. The 16th had a heavy gale, in which we lost our jib-boom and two men. Half past eleven on the night of the 17th, in the latitude of 37 degrees N. and longitude 65 degrees W. we saw several sail, two of them appearing very large; we stood from them for some time, then shortened sail and steered the remainder of the night the course we had perceived them on. At day light on Sunday, the 18th, we saw them

ahead—gave chase, and soon discovered them to be a convoy of six sail, under the protection of a sloop of war, four of them large ships mounting from sixteen to eighteen guns. At thirty-two minutes past eleven, A. M. we engaged the sloop of war, having first received her fire, at the distance of fifty or sixty yards, which space we gradually lessened until we laid her on board, after a well supported fire of forty-three minutes ; and although so near, while loading the last broadside, that our rammers were shoved against the side of the enemy, our men exhibited the same alacrity which they had done during the whole of the action. They immediately surrendered upon our gaining their fore-castle, so that no loss was sustained on either side after boarding.

Our main-top-mast was shot away between four and five minutes from the commencement of the firing ; and falling, together with the main-top-sail yard, across the larboard fore and fore-top-sail braces, rendered our head-yards unmanageable the remainder of the action. At eight minutes the gaff and mizen-top-gallant-mast came down, and at twenty minutes from the commencement of the action every brace and most of the rigging was shot away. A few minutes after separating from the Frolic both her masts fell upon the deck, the main-mast going close by the deck, and the fore-mast 12 or 15 feet above it.

The courage and exertions of the officers and crew fully answered my expectations and wishes. Lieutenant Biddle's active conduct contributed much to our success, by the exact attention paid to every department during the engagement, and the animating example he afforded the crew by his intrepidity. Lieutenants Rodgers, Booth, and Mr.

Rapp, shewed by the incessant fire from their divisions, that they were not to be surpassed in resolution or skill. Mr. Knight and every other officer, acted with a courage and promptitude highly honourable, and I trust have given assurance that they may be relied on whenever their services may be required.

I could not ascertain the exact loss of the enemy, as many of the dead lay buried under the mast and spars that had fallen upon the deck, which two hours' exertion had not sufficiently removed. Mr. Biddle, who had charge of the Frolic, states, that from what he saw, and from information from the officers, the number of killed must have been about thirty, and that of the wounded about forty or fifty—of the killed is her first lieutenant and sailing master, of the wounded captain Whinyates and the second lieutenant.

We have five killed and five wounded, as per list; the wounded are recovering. Lieutenant Clexton, who was confined by sickness, left his bed a little previous to the engagement, and though too weak to be at his division, remained upon deck, and shewed by his composed manner of noting its incidents, that we had lost by his illness the services of a brave officer, I am, respectfully, yours,

JACOB JONES.

*The Hon. Paul Hamilton,
Secretary of the Navy.*

*Letter from Commodore Decatur to the Secretary
of the Navy.**U. States' Ship United States,
at Sea, Oct. 30, 1812.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you that on the 25th instant, being in latitude 29 deg. N. and longitude 29 deg. 30 min. W. we fell in with, and after an action of an hour and a half, captured his Britannic majesty's ship *Macedonian*, commanded by captain John Carden, and mounting 49 carriage guns (the odd gun shifting.) She is a frigate of the largest class, two years old, four months out of dock, and reputed one of the best sailers in the British service. The enemy being to windward had the advantage of engaging us at his own distance, which was so great, that for the first half hour we did not use our carronades, and at no moment was he within the complete effect of our musquetry or grape—to this circumstance and a heavy swell, which was on at the time, I ascribe the unusual length of the action.

The enthusiasm of every officer, seaman, and marine, on board this ship, on discovering the enemy—their steady conduct in battle, and precision of their fire, could not be surpassed. Where all met my fullest expectations, it would be unjust in me to discriminate. Permit me, however, to recommend to your particular notice my first lieutenant, William H. Allen. He has served with me upwards of five years, and to his unremitted exertions in disciplining the crew, is to be imputed the obvious superiority of our gunnery exhibited in the result of this contest.

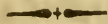
Subjoined is a list of the killed and wounded on both sides. Our loss, compared with that of the

enemy, will appear small. Amongst our wounded, you will observe the name of lieutenant Funk, who died a few hours after the action—he was an officer of great gallantry and promise, and the service has sustained a severe loss in his death.

The Macedonian lost her mizen-mast, fore and main-top-masts and main yard, and was much cut up in her hull. The damage sustained by this ship was not so much as to render her return into port necessary, and had I not deemed it important that we should see our prize in, should have continued our cruise.

With the highest consideration and respect, I am
sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) STEPHEN DECATUR.
Hon. Paul Hamilton, &c.



Letter from Commodore Bainbridge to the Secretary of the Navy.

*United States' Frigate Constitution,
St. Salvadore, Jan. 3, 1812.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 29th ult. at 2, P. M. in south latitude 13 deg. 6 min. and west longitude 38 deg. about ten leagues distance from the coast of Brazil, I fell in with and captured his Britannic majesty's frigate Java, of 49 guns, and upwards of 400 men, commanded by captain Lambert, a very distinguished officer. The action lasted one hour 55 minutes, in which time the enemy was completely dismasted, not having a spar of any kind standing. The loss on board the Constitution was nine killed and 25 wounded. The enemy had 60 killed and 101 wounded certainly,

(among the latter, captain Lambert mortally ;) but by the enclosed letter written on board this ship (by one of the officers of the Java,) and accidentally found, it is evident that the enemy's wounded must have been much greater than as above stated, and who must have died of their wounds previously to their being removed. The letter states 60 killed and 170 wounded.

For further details of the action I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed extracts from my journal. The Java had, in addition to her own crew, upwards of 100 supernumerary officers and seamen to join the British ships of war in the East Indies ; also lieutenant-general Hislop, appointed to the command of Bombay, major Walker and captain Wood of his staff, and captain Marshall, master and commander in the British Navy, going to the East Indies to take command of a sloop of war there.

Should I attempt to do justice by representation to the brave and good conduct of all my officers and crew, during the action I should fail in the attempt ; therefore, suffice it to say, that the whole of their conduct was such as to merit my highest encomiums. I beg leave to recommend the officers particularly to the notice of government, as also the unfortunate seamen who were wounded, and the families of those brave men who fell in the action.

The great distance from our own coast, and the perfect wreck we made the enemy's frigate, forbade every idea of attempting to take her to the United States, I had, therefore, no alternative but burning her, which I did on the 31st ult. after receiving all the prisoners and their baggage, which was very tedious work, only having one boat left (out of eight,) and not one left on board the Java.

On blowing up the frigate Java, I proceeded to

this place, where I have landed all the prisoners on their parole, to return to England and there remain until regularly exchanged, and not to serve in their professional capacities in any place or in any manner whatever against the U. States of America, until their exchange shall be effected.

I have the honour to be sir, with the greatest respect,

(Signed)

W. BAINBRIDGE.

Letter from captain Lawrence to the Secretary of the Navy.

*U. States' Ship Hornet, Holmes' Hole,
March 19, 1813.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you of the arrival at this port of the United States ship Hornet, under my command, from a cruise of 145 days; and to state to you, that after commodore Bainbridge left the coast of Brazil, January 6th, I continued off the harbour of St. Salvadore, blockading the Bonne Citoyenne, until the 24th, when the Montague, 74, hove in sight and chased me into the harbour; but night coming on, I wore and stood out to the southward. Knowing that she had left Rio Janeiro for the express purpose of relieving the Bonne Citoyenne and the packet (which I had also blockaded for 14 days, and obliged her to send her mail to Rio, in a Portuguese smack,) I judged it most prudent to shift my cruising ground, and hauled by the wind to the eastward, with the view of cruising off Pernambuco, and on the 4th of February, captured the English brig Resolution, of 10 guns, from Rio Janeiro, bound to Moranham, with coffee, jerked beef,

flour, fustic, and butter, and about 23,000 dollars in specie. As she sailed dull, and I could not spare hands to man her, I took out the money and set her on fire. I then ran down the coast of Moranhams, and cruised there a short time; from thence ran off Surinam. After cruising off that coast from the 15th to the 22d of February, without meeting a vessel, I stood for Demarara, with an intention, should I not be fortunate on that station, to run through the West Indies, on my way to the United States. But on the 24th, in the morning, I discovered a brig to leeward, to which I gave chase—ran into quarter less four, and not having a pilot was obliged to haul off—the fort at the entrance of Demarara river at this time bearing S.W. distant two and a half leagues. Previous to giving up the chase I discovered a vessel at anchor without the bar, with English colours flying, apparently a brig of war. In beating around Carobana bank, in order to get at her, at half past 3, P. M. I discovered another sail on my weather quarter, edging down for us. At 20 minutes past 4, she hoisted English colours, at which time we discovered her to be a large man of war brig—beat to quarters, and cleared ship for action, and kept close to the wind, in order, if possible, to get the weather gauge. At 10 minutes past 5, finding I could weather the enemy, I hoisted American colours, and tacked. At 25 minutes past 5, in passing each other exchanged broadsides within half pistol shot. Observing the enemy in the act of wearing, I bore up, received his starboard broadside, ran him close on board on the starboard quarter, and kept up such a heavy and well directed fire, that in less than 15 minutes he surrendered (being literally cut to pieces,) and hoisted an ensign, union down, from his fore-rigging, as a signal of distress. Shortly after

her main-mast went by the board. Despatched lieutenant Shubrick on board, who soon returned with her first lieutenant, who reported her to be his Britannic majesty's late brig Peacock, commanded by captain William Peake, who fell in the latter part of the action—that a number of her crew were killed and wounded, and that she was sinking fast, having then six feet water in her hold. Despatched the boats immediately for the wounded, and brought both vessels to anchor. Such shot holes as could be got at, were then plugged; her guns thrown overboard, and every possible exertion used to keep her afloat, until the prisoners could be removed, by pumping and bailing, but without effect, as she unfortunately sunk in five and a half fathoms water, carrying down 13 of her crew, and three of my brave fellows, viz. John Hart, Joseph Williams, and Hannibal Boyd.—Lieutenant Conner, midshipman Cooper, and the remainder of my men, employed in removing the prisoners, with difficulty saved themselves, by jumping into a boat that was lying on her booms, as she went down.

Four men of the 13 mentioned, were so fortunate as to gain the fore-top, and were afterwards taken off by the boats. Previous to her going down, four of her men took to her stern boat, that had been much damaged during the action, who, I sincerely hope, reached the shore in safety; but from the heavy sea running at that time, the shattered state of the boat, and the difficulty of landing on the coast, I am fearful they were lost. I have not been able to ascertain from her officers the exact number killed. Captain Peake and four men were found dead on board. The master, one midshipman, carpenter, and captain's clerk, and 29 seamen were wounded; most of them very severely, three of

whom died of their wounds after being removed, and nine drowned. Our loss was trifling in comparison, John Place killed, Samuel Coulsan, and John Dalrymple, slightly wounded; George Coffin and Lewis Todd, severely burnt by the explosion of a cartridge. Todd survived only a few days. Our rigging and sails were much cut. One shot through the foremast: and the bowsprit slightly injured. Our hull received little or no damage. At the time I brought the Peacock to action, the L'Espiegle (the brig mentioned as being at anchor) mounting 16 two-and-thirty-pound carronades and two long nines, lay about six miles in shore of me, and could plainly see the whole of the action. Apprehensive that she would beat out to the assistance of her consort, such exertions were made by my officers and crew in repairing damages, &c. that by 9 o'clock my boats were stowed away, a new set of sails bent, and the ship completely ready for action. At 2, A. M. got under way, and stood by the wind to the northward and westward, under easy sail.

On mustering next morning, found we had two hundred and seventy-seven souls on board (including the crew of the American brig Hunter, of Portland, taken a few days before by the Peacock.) As we had been on two-thirds allowance of provisions for some time, and had but 3400 gallons of water on board, I reduced the allowance to three pints a man, and determined to make the best of my way to the United States.

The Peacock was deservedly styled one of the finest vessels of her class in the British navy. I should judge her to be about the tonnage of the Hornet, Her beam was greater by five inches; but her extreme length not so great by four feet. She mounted sixteen 24-pound carronades, two long

nines, one twelve-pound carronade on her top-gallant forecastle as a shifting gun, and one four or six-pounder, and two swivels mounted aft. I find by her quarter bills, that her crew consisted of 134 men, four of whom were absent in a prize.

The cool and determined conduct of my officers and crew during the action, and their almost unexampled exertions afterwards, entitle them to my warmest acknowledgments, and I beg leave most earnestly to recommend them to the notice of government.

By the indisposition of lieutenant Stewart, I was deprived of the services of an excellent officer.—Had he been able to stand the deck, I am confident his exertions would not have been surpassed by any one on board. I should be doing injustice to the merits of lieutenant Shubrick, and acting-lieutenants Conner and Newton, were I not to recommend them particularly to your notice. Lieutenant Shubrick was in the actions with the *Guerriere* and *Java*. Captain Hull and commodore Bainbridge can bear testimony to his coolness and good conduct on both occasions.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES LAWRENCE.

Hon. Wm. Jones, Secretary of the Navy.

P. S. At the commencement of the action, my sailing master and seven men were absent in a prize: and lieutenant Stewart and six men on the sick list. As there is every prospect of the wind being to the eastward, in the morning I shall make the best of my way to New-York.

*Copy of a letter from Capt. Hull to the Secretary
of the Navy.*

Portland, Sept. 7, 1813.

SIR,—I had the honour last evening to forward you by express, through the hands of commodore Bainbridge, a letter I received from Samuel Storer, Esq. navy agent at this place, detailing an account of the capture of the British brig Boxer by the U. States brig Enterprise.

I have now to inform you that I left Portsmouth this morning, and have this moment arrived, and as the mail is closing, I have only time to enclose you the report of lieutenant M'Call of the Enterprise, and to assure you that a statement of the situation of the two vessels as to the damage they have received, &c. shall be forwarded as soon as surveys can be made. The Boxer has received much damage in her hull, masts, and sails, indeed it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat to get her in. The Enterprise is only injured in her masts and sails.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ISAAC HULL.

The Hon. Wm. Jones, Sec'y of the Navy.

*United States' Brig Enterprise,
Portland. Sept. 7, 1813.*

SIR,—In consequence of the unfortunate death of lieutenant commandant William Burrows, late commander of this vessel, it devolves on me to acquaint you with the result of our cruise. After sailing from Portsmouth on the 1st instant, we steered to the eastward; and on the morning of the 3d, off Wood Island, discovered a schooner, which we

chased into this harbour, where we anchored. On the morning of the 4th, weighed anchor and swept out, and continued our course to the eastward. Having received information of several privateers being off Manhagan, we stood for that place ; and on the following morning, in the bay near Penguin Point, discovered a brig getting under way, which appeared to be a vessel of war, and to which we immediately gave chase. She fired several guns and stood for us, having four ensigns hoisted. After reconnoitring and discovering her force and the nation to which she belonged, we hauled upon a wind to stand out of the bay, and at 3 o'clock shortened sail, tacked and run down with an intention to bring her to close action. At twenty minutes after three, P. M. when within half pistol shot, the firing commenced from both, and after being warmly kept up, and with some manœuvring, the enemy hailed, and said they had surrendered, about 4, P. M. their colours being nailed to the masts, could not be hauled down. She proved to be his Britannic majesty's brig Boxer, of 14 guns, Samuel Blythe, Esq. commander, who fell in the early part of the engagement, having received a cannon shot through the body. And I am sorry to add that lieutenant Burrows, who had gallantly led us to action, fell also about the same time by a musket ball, which terminated his existence in eight hours.

The Enterprise suffered much in spars and rigging, and the Boxer both in spars, rigging, and hull, having many shots between wind and water.

It would be doing injustice to the merit of Mr. Tillinghast, second lieutenant, were I not to mention the able assistance I received from him during the remainder of the engagement, by his strict attention to his own division and other departments.

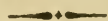
And the officers and crew generally, I am happy to add, their cool and determined conduct have my warmest approbation and applause.

As no muster roll that can be fully relied on has come into my possession, I cannot exactly state the number killed on board the Boxer, but from information received from the officers of that vessel, it appears there were between twenty and twenty-five killed, and fourteen wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDWARD R. M'CALL,
Senior Officer.

*Isaac Hull, Esq. commanding Naval
Officer, on the Eastern Station.*



*Copy of a letter from Isaac Hull, Esq. commanding
Naval Officer on the station East of Portsmouth,
New-Hampshire.*

*United States Navy Yard,
Portsmouth, Sept. 14, 1813.*

SIR,—I have the honour to forward you by the mail, the flags of the late British brig Boxer, which were nailed to her mast-heads at the time she was captured by the United States brig Enterprise.

Great as the pleasure is that I derive from performing this part of my duty, I need not tell you how different my feelings would have been, could the gallant Burrows have had this honour.

He went into action most gallantly, and the difference of injury done the two vessels proves how nobly he fought.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, sir,
your obedient servant,

ISAAC HULL.

Hon. Wm. Jones, Sec'ry of the Navy.

CONCLUSION.

I cannot resist the inclination I feel to make room for an extract from another of Mr. Cobbett's excellent letters to lord Castlereagh, on the late revolution in France, hoping the reader may enjoy the same delight on viewing a true statement of European affairs as I have myself. In a country crouded with lying journalists, I cannot sufficiently admire one who exhibits the naked truth, although he has already suffered for so doing, two years imprisonment and the forfeiture of a thousand pounds to the king of England.

Peace ! Peace !

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

MY LORD—THE grand event which has just taken place in France, and which is so well calculated to convince all mankind of the folly as well as the injustice, of using foreign force for the purpose of dictating to a great nation who they shall have for their rulers, or what shall be the form of government ; this grand event, instead of procuring such conviction in the minds of those persons connected with the London newspapers, magazines and reviews, who are called *Cossack Writers* ; so far from procuring such conviction in their minds, this grand event seems to have made them more eager than ever for interference in the domestic affairs of France ; and while the cries of our countrymen at *New-Orleans* are yet vibrating in our ears, these men are endeavouring to urge you and your colleagues on to the sending of thousands upon thousands more of our men, and to expend hundreds of millions more of our money, in order to overset

a government which the French nation love, and to compel them to submit to one which they hate, or at least, despise, from the bottom of their hearts, and with unanimity absolutely unparalleled.

My Lord, if my advice had been followed, we should have had no American war; the 20 or 30,000 men, and the 50 or 60 millions of money, which that unfortunate war has cost us; and which have only, as it turns out, created an American navy, and exalted the republic among the nations of the world, would all have been saved. The literary Cossacks of London, were, I verily believe, the chief cause of war. They urged you and your colleagues on to *the destruction of the American FORM OF GOVERNMENT*. Napoleon being, as they thought, down, never to rise again, they urged you to make war, till you had put down *James Madison*, and “DELIVERED THE WORLD of the existence of that EXAMPLE of the success of DEMOCRATIC REBELLION.” “*No peace with Madison*,” was their cry. Kill! kill! keep killing, till he is put down! This was their incessant cry. And, in a short time after Napoleon was exiled to the isle of Elba, these literary Cossacks published a paragraph, which they inserted in the report of the debates in the house of commons, as the report of the speech of sir Joseph Yorke, then and now one of the lords of the admiralty, in the following words: to wit—“Sir Joseph Yorke observed, that although one great enemy of this country, Bonaparte, had been deposed, there was another gentleman whose DEPOSITION was only necessary to our interest; he meant Mr. President Madison; and with a view to THAT DEPOSITION, a considerable naval force must be kept up, especially in the Atlantic. But as to his hon-

ourable friend's opinion respecting the reduction of the navy, he wished it to be considered that a number of shipping were employed in conveying French prisoners to France, and bringing home our own countrymen. So much for the occupation of the navy on the home station. But from the Mediterranean, for instance, several three deckers were ordered home, and he could aver that no practical exertion would be remitted to reduce the expense of our naval department."

With what shame!—with what sorrow, would these writers, if they had not lost all sense of shame, and all feeling for their country, now look back on their conduct, at the time to which I am referring! Instead of feeling shame for that conduct, they are now acting the same part over again; they are now reviving all their old calumnies against the emperor Napoleon; they are abusing the French army and the French people; they are bestowing on them appellations almost too infamous to be repeated; and they are calling upon you and your colleagues to make a war of extermination upon that people, unless they will receive and adopt the ruler and the government appointed, or pointed out by England. These men called Mr. Madison a TRAITOR and a REBEL; and they are now calling Napoleon a TRAITOR and a REBEL. They called the Americans slaves, villains, thieves; and with these appellations with many others, not excepting *cowards*, they are now bestowing on the French people! —They now see you and your colleagues have found it necessary to make a treaty of peace and amity with Mr. Madison, whom they called a traitor and a rebel; but, these men are of that description of fools to whom experience cannot teach wisdom, and they are now repeating their cry *no peace*

with *Napoleon* ; no peace till the Bourbons are again on the throne of France : war with the French until they adopt a ruler in whom *we* have confidence.

[*After this introduction, the writer with his usual acumen, expostulates with Lord Castlereagh on the subject of a new French war.*]

But, my lord, long as this address to you already is, there is one view of this impending danger to which I must yet beg leave to call your serious attention.

It is said that “ war will, as hitherto, favour our *shipping and commercial interests*, while our navy secures us *the sovereignty of the seas*.” And afterwards it is said that our “ manufactures will prosper with the continent of Europe and *America* open.”

Does not the very name of *America*, coupled with that of *war* in Europe, give rise to a thousand thoughts in the mind of your lordship ? Do you not see the rising navy in the mouths of the *Susquehanna* and *Hudson* ? In short, what Englishman can look *that way* without alarm ? It is well known that our commerce and shipping, during the late war, were supported by the restrictions which our navy enabled us to impose on the commerce and navigation of *neutrals*, and especially on those of *America*. It is well known that, had we not claimed the sea as our own, and exercised our power accordingly, our commerce and navigation must have dwindled into a very small compass, and those of *America* would have swelled to an enormous size, while France, open to the shipping and commerce of *America*, would have experienced little injury from the power of our navy.

Well, then, is it to be believed, when we look at the progress and conclusion of the American war, that we shall again *attempt* those restrictions on her commerce and navigation? This is not to be believed; and if we were to attempt them, is it to be believed that we should not find America *a party in the war against us*?—The late event in France will excite in America joy unbounded, and especially amongst those against whom the malicious shafts of the editors of our newspapers were levelled. When they hear these men describe Napoleon as a “*traitor and a rebel*,” they will recollect that the very same men described the President, their constitutional chief magistrate, as a “*traitor and rebel*” and that they called upon his fellow-citizens, who had freely chosen him, to depose him and *kill* him. The Americans, my lord, are not to be made to believe that Napoleon has *forced* himself upon the French nation; they are not to be made to believe that he has none but the army on his side; they are not to be made to believe that he is merely at the head of “*a band of Janissaries*”; they are not to be made to believe that, with a mere handful of soldiers, he could have marched from Cannes to Paris, unless he had been *the man of the people*; they are not to be made to believe that the Bourbons would have fled from a throne and from a sovereignty over thirty millions of people, unless they had been convinced that the *people* were on the side of Napoleon; they are not to be made to believe all or any of these things, but they will see in this event a proof of the fact, of which fact some of them before doubted, that Napoleon reigns in virtue of the love and choice of the French nation.

The American government will, for a while at least, be disposed to remain at peace with us; but

we may be well assured that it will never again submit to any restrictions on its commerce and navigation, not warranted by the well known and universally acknowledged laws of nations ;—and it would not be at all surprising, if it should lean very strongly toward France, if we were to make war upon the latter for the purpose of dictating a government to her in direct opposition to her will, now so clearly declared.

Here therefore, is a difficulty which we had not to contend with in the last war.—These *prizes*, which this writer holds out as a bait to our naval officers and their connections, would not be so numerous. Indeed they would be very few in number. The commerce of France would, to a great extent, be carried on in American ships.—America would be the carrier for both nations. The increase of her navigation, would signify nothing to France ; indeed France would rejoice at it, because it would be tremendously dangerous to us.

Let no flatterer persuade your lordship, that the Americans are to be either wheedled or corrupted, They love *peace* ; but they are a wise people, and they will well know that they must provide for war. The last year has taught them that they must depend solely on their arms. They will remember the flames of Frenchtown, Stonington and Washington. They will remember their sufferings from the hand of our Indian allies. They will remember our considering their naturalized citizens as traitors.

CONCLUDING NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

FROM the glimpse we have given of the religious and political delusion, and consequent misery, and degradation of the European population; the free, enlightened, and independent American reader, may be inclined to pity, and despise the people who thus suffer themselves to be degraded to beasts of burthen, by their Royal, Right Honourable, and Right Reverend Tyrants. They should indeed be pitied, but not despised. Tears of compassion for them, and tears of gratitude to God, should flow spontaneously from the eyes of every free born American, when he beholds the deleterious clouds of error, which the genius of smiling Liberty has for ever exterminated from his independent mind, but which she is prohibited, by the frowning spirit of despotism, from even attempting to exterminate, from the debased minds of the wondering, cheated, king ridden, and priest ridden population of Europe. While I pity from my heart's core, those wretched and degraded millions, my breast swells with affection, gratitude and veneration for such men as William Cobbett and Sir Francis Burdett, who have used their best and boldest endeavours to attenuate the miserable degradation, under which they crouch, and have magnanimously endured the lash of despotism therefor, but that lash has not inflicted so bitter a pang, as the recollection that their patriotic labours and sufferings have all proved abortive. But let them be encouraged. The ray of political light, they have displayed, will soon become a mighty flame—then, and not till then will a bold and valiant people break their ephemeral bonds and rise in all the majesty of their strength. Then will they think and wonder at the thought, that they were chained by local and long standing prejudices, as the giant Gulliver by the Lilliputians, whose bonds were as imperceptible as his enemies were diminutive. Then will they see the super-inhuman villainy of those weak and wicked worms of the earth, arrayed in Royal purple and sacerdotal silk and cambric, who circumvent the mouth of labour, and cause the many to endure every privation, to exalt the few, and force their fellow-men, contrary to their interest and inclination, to go forth to murder and be murdered, to gratify the pride of Aristocracy. What a pity, what a shame.





